

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Third Year of Issue

March, 1944

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## Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time

*Canada's New Orientation*



Gladstone Murray  
as a Point of Reference



Canadian Policy and  
Latin America

DONALD MacINTYRE



French-Canadian Poetry

LAURE RIÈSE



Wartime Control of  
Our Human Resources

GARLAND MACKENZIE

Collectivism  
In Agriculture

COLIN CAMERON

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## THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## O CANADA

In a democracy like ours, the common people have no right thinking that they should run the government. They have not the leaders nor the experience necessary. We need lawyers and hard-headed business men who know the ins and outs of government and business.

(Letter to the editor, Windsor Daily Star)

Fed Up With War—Monty; We'll Finish it This Year.  
(Headline in Toronto Daily Star)

"We cannot allow the politicians, as such, to run the affairs of this province. We, as business men, have to take an interest in it, as it is our show and our capital that is invested in it," said Robert Fennell, K.C., president of the Toronto Board of Trade.

(Toronto Evening Telegram)

Man with a good education of French and English, able to do stenographic work (if possible), truck driving with a good record to show for it, capable of lifting bales to 800 lbs. and most important of all be experienced in the junk business. Apply in person to nearest National Selective Service Office. Refer to file BR.519-3432.

(Advertisement in Montreal Daily Star)

Mr. Louis L. Lang, president of the Mutual Life, spoke as follows . . . "After the cessation of hostilities, we may be confronted with the task of finding employment for almost half of our able-bodied population of working age. There is not even a faint hope that the state can make work for all these citizens of ours, and if it could, this type of work is a most costly method of absorbing labor, and it is not economically sound. The great part of the task of absorbing into peacetime industry these millions of demobilized men and women will fall upon the shoulders of the numerous private enterprises being conducted throughout our country. Consequently, anyone who uses the talents God gave him to torpedo free enterprise is, in effect, without realizing it, talking himself out of a job."

(Galt Reporter)

Pocket Money for Veterans, Ottawa's Aim.  
(Headline in Toronto Globe & Mail)

First formal portrait of the King by a Canadian photographer is this study . . . reflecting the quiet, graceful courage and resolute strength of His Majesty, a spirit which throughout the war has been a symbol of hope and encouragement to the peoples of the British Empire.

(Caption under cut in Toronto Globe & Mail)

State Life Insurance Not a Success

(Headline on Sun Life Insurance Co. advertisement reporting President's Address in Financial Post)

York County Council in a gloomy view of the potential dangers of influenza and other epidemics in their relation to the "dark picture" in the casket supply situation, yesterday called upon Prime Minister Mackenzie King to make available adequate "lumber, cloth materials and labor to take care of decent Christian burial of our citizens."

(Globe & Mail)

In the Canadian Authors' Association we have a wonderful opportunity to help Canada and, incidentally, ourselves. . . . The trouble with us seems to be that we join the Association and then let "George" do the work for us; a form of socialism, I suppose.

(I. D. Willis, in the Canadian Author & Journalist)

London, Ont.—Maj. Gladstone Murray, Toronto policy counsel, addressing the London Kiwanis Club Friday, discussed "the crop of Rhodes scholars that adorn the front rank of the C.C.F."

He said they were of a generation of Oxford undergraduates who accepted a resolution against bearing arms in any cause whatever. In his own day, a generation earlier, "it was believed that acceptance of the largesse of Rhodes carried with it the moral obligation to serve the Empire," he said. Maj. Murray was Rhodes scholar from Quebec in 1913-14. He drew attention to what he termed "the eccentricity of a pronounced anti-British bias among the Canadian Rhodes scholars now so prominent in the C.C.F."

(Edmonton Journal)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to Fred A. Burr, Windsor, Ont. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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• 23

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## Time to Awaken

Initial failure of Allied strategy designed to open a way to Rome raised a new crop of "warnings" that victory will not be easy, in spite of General Montgomery's assurance to his troops that he is "fed up" with the war and "we can and will" finish it off this year. Meanwhile, as bombs rain on the Reich, the Soviet juggernaut eats steadily into Germany's eastern defenses.

More disheartening than any military setbacks is their background. The police-minded dickerings of AMG are now capped by further concessions to Badoglio and his disgruntled king. Just as we seemed about to get tough with Franco, the smoothing-out process began again, in spite of the fact that this Christian foe of democracy seems slated as the post-war guardian of world Fascism until new headquarters are found in South America. The Anglo-Saxon Allies continue to meddle in the Russian-Polish dispute while Moscow sponsors a national council in Poland. Belated recognition of de Gaulle's right to speak for France looks more like a frightened reaction to Russia's growing strength in eastern Europe than any real sympathy with democratic elements seeking a people's victory.

The situation is neatly summarized thus by Dorothy Thompson: "The Soviet war has the audacity associated with youth. . . . Whether that audacity deploys armies by brilliant and daring strategy and tactics or transforms the Union into a commonwealth while celebrating another victory with salvos, one has a sense of movement and purposefulness, which our war lacks. Our leaders . . . reach out one hand to Stalin, and clutch with the other at every head from which a crown is slipping or has fallen. They fight against Fascist counter revolution with a hesitating and half-apologetic conservatism. On the issues that demand a viewpoint they are silent. . . All this is very dangerous. It is time to awaken and hear the birds sing."

## Behind the Veil

So far as one can judge from the partial lifting of the veil which has, up to this writing, shrouded the mystery of his retirement, Lieutenant-General A. G. L. McNaughton has been the victim of circumstance. That circumstance was the long postponement of the western European invasion for which the Canadian Army had been avowedly prepared. There is no doubt that this preparation, under General McNaughton, had been efficient and thorough. Apart from all newspaper build-up, there is testimony to that from military experts. These experts would scarcely contend that part of an army must have battle experience before it could be fit to lead the assault on Hitler's fortress, though other considerations may have made this desirable. In any event, there seems no reason why this could not have been done without permanently dismembering the Canadian Army. It is on this important point that we lack precise information. When it was at last decided to send some of the Canadian troops into action separately, the larger issue seems to have been settled. It was this latter fact, apparently, that occasioned General McNaughton's retirement.

There is no reason for imputing to General McNaughton an undue personal ambition. His tenacity in clinging to the original idea of maintaining the Canadian troops as a homogeneous invasion force may have been due to well-founded

judgment regarding their most effective use. Prolonged delay of the invasion may have made adherence to this policy at once more difficult and more desirable. Responsibility for the change seems to lie with Col. Ralston and the Canadian government, rather than with the British or Allied command; but of this we have as yet no assurance. All we can say, lacking fuller knowledge, is that it would have been gratifying, both to the troops and to those at home, if this specially trained army of Canadian soldiers could have fulfilled as an unbroken unit the purpose for which it was so carefully prepared.

The circumstances, of course, are quite different; but one cannot help recalling that incident in the last war when Sir Sam Hughes, then Minister of Militia and Defense, was ordered by Lord Kitchener, British Minister of War, to break up the first Canadian contingent and merge it with British units. "I'll be damned if I will," said Sir Sam; and going to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George he had the order rescinded and the Canadians kept together to fight in their own formations.

As for General McNaughton, most Canadians will have a sympathetic appreciation of the strain to which he has been subjected, and nothing but respect and admiration for the manner in which he has upheld, in especially trying circumstances, the best traditions of the Canadian citizen soldier.

## "Spend, Sucker, Spend!"

The next few weeks will bring a barrage of sales publicity for the Sixth Victory Loan. *Marketing*, the advertising trade organ, says: "It is assumed that the Allied troops will still be fighting bitterly in Europe during the latter part of April and for that reason the theme of the Loan will be primarily as support for the efforts of the armed forces." That would be an excellent reason for buying Victory Bonds—if it were the real one. But the primary object of a public appeal is, of course, to induce people to withhold money from circulation and so lessen the danger of inflation. The Victory Loan advertisements urge us to put our savings into the bonds, yes; but we are left with the comforting impression that it is all right to spend money on "essentials"—a very elastic term. Never a word about the fall in dollar value which general spending in a time of scarce goods is bound to promote, and what this means for those with ceilings on their wages or small fixed incomes.

May the reason perhaps be that the Loan publicity is largely directed by the publishers of Canada, who derive their profits from advertising those very things it is the purpose of the Victory Loans to restrain us from buying, and to whom the government seems strangely deferential? The task of bringing home to ordinary people the disastrous consequences of unchecked spending is at least being attempted in the United States. Even our own government, alarmed by the inflationary pressure, is said to be planning something of the kind. Meanwhile, five expensive Victory Loan drives have come and gone without any attempt to elucidate their real purpose and importance. Ironically, it has remained for a Toronto tailoring firm (happily freed by war orders from the need to sell its goods to the public) to reprint from a United States periodical an article graphically headed "Spend, Sucker, Spend!" which is about the first realistic advertisement for Victory Bonds and War Savings Certificates we have seen.

## Private Radio Gets Bolder

The private radio interests have at last come out publicly for scrapping the Canadian Broadcasting Act and starting all over. At the annual convention of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters this month, its president and general manager, Glen Bannerman, according to a Canadian Press dispatch, "criticized as 'dangerous' the federal legislation under which the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation operates the CBC networks and at the same time controls private station operations" and "proposed a three-man board for the whole industry with powers similar to those of the Board of Railway Commissioners over railways."

What the private stations are after, of course, is the relegation of public broadcasting to a minor role, with authority vested in a semi-judicial body removed from the control of parliament. The private station would then, to quote Mr. Bannerman's delightful euphemism, be free to "meet its obligations to the community"—that is, to go on feeding the community trash, only on a bigger and more profitable scale. The mere existence of a public authority whose trusteeship, however feebly exercised, is subject to parliamentary review, is a salutary check on the commercial interests. With that gone, the sewer would be the limit.

In this drive, the CAB has the blessing of the erstwhile general manager of the CBC. In the current *Canadian Broadcaster*, Gladstone Murray (who can now be publicly hailed by the private stations' organ as "Bill Murray—the radicals' Public Enemy No. 1, free enterprise's Ambassador at large") says: "During the six years in which I was chief executive of the CBC . . . my interest in radio was always that of the professional; I could have no traffic with the idea that radio should be made a subtle instrument for the advancement of any political creed." But Mr. Murray now seems willing enough to use the private stations to promote the assault he is conducting on behalf of the "big shots" against a political party. (See Page 270.)

## Civilization and the Army

It was natural that the remarks about women attributed to Major-General Brock Chisholm, director of Canadian army medical services, should have aroused feminine resentment. General Chisholm now states that his words, taken from their context, were misinterpreted. However, it is unfortunate that they have overshadowed his more sweeping remarks about civilian society as a whole. He said, if correctly reported: "A soldier must be an absolutely dependable member of a social group. . . An objective of military training is to civilize civilians. Frequently when a soldier goes home on leave, he becomes decivilized. . . The Canadian army has had to reject large numbers of men because they could not make this adjustment from civilian individualism to military co-operation."

Coming from General Chisholm, who besides being an army officer is a noted psychiatrist, this indictment of "civilian civilization" is of great interest. Hitherto, it had been generally held that civilization connoted civilian life. General Chisholm reverses the definitions, terming the army, with its social loyalty, the truly civilizing influence, as contrasted with the decivilizing individualism which characterizes civilian living. The Nazis, of course, make a similar distinction, holding up military life as the only true end of civilized man. But we should be careful to distinguish between the Nazi ideal of army training and that which prevails (according to General Chisholm) in the Canadian army.

We think there is much truth in what General Chisholm says; and one of his deductions is worth noting. Explaining

that in the army the soldier learns to know exactly who is the enemy and who are his friends, he said: "On his return to civilian life he gets mixed up. He takes it for granted at first that all are his friends. . . After the last war he found it was not true. It is vastly important that he find it true after this war." This seems to make it imperative that in our civilian society we should start now to replace selfish individualism with that social solidarity and co-operation which General Chisholm intimates are characteristic of the Canadian army.

But we may have misinterpreted the General. To show our good faith, we offer to print free of charge, if available, the full, unrevised text of his address to the Toronto Rotary Club in which these reported remarks occurred.

## The Other Voice

If we had not known Communist policy is decided extra-nationally, we should have been inclined to congratulate Mr. Gladstone Murray on the signal victory his efforts on behalf of "venture capital" had achieved in winning the Labor-Progressive Party for an ally. But after Earl Browder's speech in New York (for which we fear Mr. Murray could scarcely claim credit) we were already prepared for Tim Buck's speech in Toronto. In adopting a policy of appeasement towards those who are so noisily extolling the virtues of free enterprise, the Communists are of course revealing once again that they are not a domestic party at all, but merely an arm of another country's foreign policy. Even so, we think they are gravely misconstruing the wishes of Premier Stalin by overestimating the importance of those who look to Mr. Gladstone Murray for spiritual guidance. If they really had their ears to the ground, they would hear another Voice, dulled at times by the roar of Mr. Murray's printing presses and radio stations and service club orations, but quite clearly discernible, and much more authoritative than the Voice of Business. It used to be called, in old-fashioned language, Vox Populi. At any rate, we cannot see what Mr. Buck and his friends hope to achieve by going about shouting "Teheran" as if it were an incantation capable of solving the world's (or even Russia's) problems. We are all for whatever Teheran was supposed to have achieved. But we believe that a domestic policy for Canada, decided in Canada, which will enable us to make the most of our potentialities, will do more to further the ends sought at Teheran than any amount of cowering before bogeys.

## Bit by Bit

Bit by bit we are beginning to hear about some of the things that have been going on while private enterprisers run our war production, directed from Ottawa by other private enterprisers (dollar-a-year men to you). We have not seen the end of the aluminum scandal, now glistening under a fine coat of whitewash. We hope that the same treatment will not be given the charges, made by R. H. McGregor, M.P., of payroll-padding and waste in the construction of the Pickering shell-filling plant, nor the charges made by an ex-inspector that thousands of pairs of Canadian army boots were not up to specifications. Expropriation by the government of Eldorado Mining and Refining Limited at an estimated cost of more than \$5,000,000 is veiled in "military secrecy." But we now know why Mr. J. P. Bickell resigned his government post as president of Victory Aircraft Limited. It was because he would not conform with government policy (at the gentle urging of Mr. Howe) and appoint a representative of labor to his board of directors.

## Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time

► THE LASKI BOOK of this title is concerned with the socio-economic revolution which Professor Laski thinks to be necessary if our society is to realize its potentialities of full production, security and peace. Other writers, such as Professor Burnham, have raised the question whether this revolution is leading to a socialist or to a managerial society. If you read religious philosophers you will find that they are talking about another revolution, a change in men's attitude towards the universe, a reaction against the rationalism and secularism inaugurated by the Renaissance, and a return to an age of faith. A good many people may have their private mental reservations about both the inevitability and the desirability of either of these two revolutions. But there can be no doubt about a third revolution in the midst of which we are living. This is the revolution in the distribution throughout the world of power—political, economic and military power.

For more than three centuries we have been living in a world dominated by Europe. From the beginning of the sixteenth century Europe proceeded to make out of the rest of the world a great colonial area which she exploited and developed and over which she spread her European institutions. Today we are witnessing the end of this European era. For a long time whenever Europe sneezed the rest of the world blew its nose; and right down to our own day whenever Europe has got a bad cold we have all run a temperature. But today the rise of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. into the position of the two dominant world states means a transfer of power to extra-European centres. The growth of the British Dominions and the emergence of Japan, China and India as powers determined to throw off European control also emphasize the profound change which is taking place in world power politics. A few centuries from now, when the agencies of our time are only reflected dimly in the pale pages of research historians, Hitler's Germany will stand out as the last feverish convulsive effort to establish a European power which could dominate the world. The decline of Europe is the most important fact of our day.

This shift in the distribution of power has special significance for us Canadians. On the one hand we are a part of North America, which is clearly destined to be one of the great centres of power in the new era. On the other hand we are bound by special ties to one of the European states whose relative decline vitally affects our position in the world and compels us to make adjustments in our thinking for which we are not quite prepared. Canada, like the other Dominions, grew up under the protection of Britain and the British Navy. This was the major premise of all our thinking about our position in the world—very often an inarticulate major premise, as all of us, "nationalists" as well as "imperialists," might as well now confess. A good many Canadians—an abnormally large proportion of the population of Toronto—still suffer in their political thinking from a mother fixation. They are like those unhappy young men whom one occasionally meets who are so tied to their mother that they can form no new bonds in their life and cannot achieve the healthy attitude of the normal adult who regards his mother with a mixture of affection and independence. The world into which we are passing is going to be an acutely painful world for unfortunates of this type.

It is now permissible to refer publicly to this decline of Britain as a world power, since both Field Marshall Smuts and Lord Halifax have been openly discussing it. They

frankly admit that the basis of their thinking is a desire to construct a new power alignment through which Britain may recover some of her lost position. And they are thinking aloud about some new union (*à la* Smuts) with the powers of Western Europe or (*à la* Halifax) with the British Dominions.

This decline of Britain in the power politics of the world has little or nothing to do with the merits or the virtues of the British people. On the whole the British are still the finest people on this planet. They have proved once again their resiliency and toughness in the face of crisis. They have more of those highly valuable social qualities of tolerance and a willingness to compromise than have either the Russians or the Americans; and they know more about the world and have a more flexible attitude to world problems than either of the two new giants of the twentieth century.

But there are only 47 million of them as against 135 million Americans and 200 million Russians, not to speak of the 400 million Chinese. And they live on a little island off the northwest coast of Europe which has lost the immunity once given to it by sea-power. Because of the size of their community they lack the facilities for mass-production which form the basis of the dominant economic position of America and Russia. Two world wars have accelerated the industrialization of the non-European parts of the world so as to make forever impossible any renewal of the old colonial relationship in which we once stood. And all these shifts in power have led to one spectacular result in our day, that Britain can no longer defend her empire. The fall of Singapore was an event of world-shaking significance. Under modern conditions of war the centre of the British Empire is too exposed in Europe to come to the rescue of its outlying parts when they also are attacked; it cannot even protect its allies in Western Europe.

All this means that Lord Halifax's proposal that we should seek security by some closer union of the states of the British Empire Commonwealth is simply obsolete. There is no need to get excited about it. We cannot escape from history. No form of British Empire unity can by itself provide security for Canada, Australia, New Zealand; much less can it provide security for Great Britain herself in her vulnerable position in Western Europe. The fault of Lord Halifax's proposal is not that it is "power politics," as both Mr. King and Mr. Coldwell have emphasized rather too strongly. Its fault is that it is bad power politics. It does not provide us with a base sufficiently strong on which we can found our security in the twentieth century.

We must seek some wider base. And the real choice which we face is whether we are to seek that base in some form of Anglo-American collaboration or in the wider collaboration of the United Nations. Of course Lord Halifax would say that he wants both of these things. But the hard fact is that an exclusive British Empire power unit, formed for the express and publicly avowed purpose of strengthening British power against that of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., is the worst possible prelude to a policy of wider collaboration.

The affairs of the British countries and those of the United States have of course become pretty thoroughly "mixed up" during the course of this war. When Hitler overran Western Europe, Canada immediately entered into a permanent defense arrangement with the United States; and for the rest of our lifetime our security is going to be based upon the defense of North America as an integral unit. Canada cannot be secure without American protection, and the United States cannot be secure without Canadian co-operation. The two South Pacific Dominions also have shown by their actions—whatever may be the words of their leaders which get reported up here in North America—that

they are basing their security upon a new close relationship with the United States. The United States, though we wouldn't admit the fact in public for a moment, tends to take the place which Britain has hitherto held as the main guarantor of our safety. In addition to which she has become the main guarantor of the safety of Great Britain herself. In such circumstances the idea of the British nations setting up for themselves in some exclusive alliance and indulging in the game of balance-of-power against the U.S.A. is preposterous. Yet the whole basis of the Smuts-Halifax type of thought is an effort to construct a balance against the power of the United States and of Russia.

Romantic Britishers, in Toronto as in London, when they observe this mixing up of Anglo-American affairs, like to think of the return of the prodigal American son to the dear old British Empire. They should cure themselves of such illusions by living for a while in the United States. A better metaphor than this of the prodigal son to express what is happening would be one which comes straight out of American life. And while all metaphors are dangerous, this one catches more accurately the attitude of mind with which most Americans themselves tend to regard the process. The United States is "muscling in" to the British Empire. Muscling in is quite a different kind of process from the return of the prodigal son.

The Americans have acquired naval and air bases on the British islands along their Atlantic frontier. They are staking out for themselves a large slice of the oil reserves in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf in what used to be counted as part of the British sphere of influence. They are expressing themselves freely about British policy in Palestine; and American troops are right on the spot in the Near East where their presence can give emphasis to American opinions. American liberals have been expressing themselves for some time on the question of India, and no doubt the presence of American troops there also gives emphasis to the more discreet hints of the Washington government. When the rubber and tin of Malaysia are ousted from Japanese control we may look for a certain amount of American muscling in there, too. Armies and air forces and lease-lend from the United States all over the British parts of the world are going to bring about some remarkable transformations in British imperialism in our day.

It is hard to say as yet whether all this points to a joint Anglo-American imperialism after the war or to a period of somewhat intense friction between the two English-speaking powers. One can muster a good deal of evidence to support either conclusion. But with the new ties between Canada and the South Pacific Dominions and the United States, and with the new diplomatic and commercial contacts which Canada has been establishing throughout the area of the United Nations, all talk of our going back to a day when Britain and her Dominions spoke to the world with one voice, a voice with a distinctly English accent, is simply irrelevant to the new world situation.

No doubt there will be a good many occasions on which we Canadians will find our new bonds with the United States somewhat unpleasant. The Americans are a masterful people, and they have not the long experience of the English in soothing the susceptibilities of touchy small nations. And if we are wise we will use our old established connections with Britain as a counterweight to balance our new connections with the United States. But this will not alter the inescapable fact of the transfer of leadership in the English-speaking world from the British to the Americans.

We need no longer worry about this change. It has already taken place. What we should now be worrying

about is the direction in which this American leadership is likely to go. Americans themselves are doing a lot of worrying over this matter, and our Canadian newspapers would be much more serviceable as guides to our opinion if they told us more about the discussions now going on south of the border. Early in February Mr. Wendell Willkie, who may be very important in determining the quality of this American leadership, delivered a speech in New York which has caused hardly any comment in Canada at all. He began his speech with a discussion of the United States as a world power, and some of his words are worth quoting:

"The fact is that the United States has always been a world power. Even when our Union was first formed in 1789, when our population was only 4,000,000, and we were in debt and all but defenseless, we were yet one of the mightiest powers on earth. Our power in those days, however, was neither financial nor military; we were of small account in the diplomatic councils of the world. Our power resided in an Idea—the Idea of self-government by free men; of self-government by men whose future would depend, not upon the will of kings or the plans of dictators, but upon their own innate courage and abilities. The American Idea changed the whole course of history. No riches, no navy, no army had ever exercised such power over the destinies of mankind. The American Idea, which our forefathers undertook as a dangerous but exciting experiment, has now proved itself. Our free society has made us the richest nation on earth . . . Today we are a world power in a sense other than ideological. And the great responsibility that we shoulder is the maintenance, despite this material power, of our former ideological leadership."

This is indeed the great question to which all our Canadian discussions of power politics ultimately lead. For what purposes is American power likely to be used, and how far are we in Canada going to share in those purposes?

## Gladstone Murray as a Point of Reference

► "THE SATURATION of public opinion by false doctrines is the most dangerous problem of the moment."

The above is from an address by Mr. Gladstone Murray at a private luncheon in Montreal. With the sentiment expressed we are in hearty agreement, though our ideas of what constitutes false doctrine appear to differ widely from Mr. Murray's. We believe, however, that it is less needful to determine which doctrines are true and which false, than it is to rid our minds of all doctrines, and get down to attacking our economic, social and political problems in a rational and practical manner. But we also believe that it is desirable to know the source of any proposals that are made, so that we can assess them in the light of what appears to be the interestedness or disinterestedness of the proposers.

This being so, we feel that a vote of thanks is due *The New Commonwealth* for printing in its January 27 issue certain documents relating to the current activities of Mr. Gladstone Murray. For in spite of Mr. Murray's avowal that "there is nothing sub rosa about these activities, nothing of which I or any participant need be ashamed," it seems doubtful that these documents would have become public property otherwise. The documents consist of (a) a verbatim report of an address by Gladstone Murray at a private luncheon at the Mount Royal Club, Montreal, June 21, 1943; (b) a letter by Mr. Murray dated August 4, 1943,

with an addendum dated August 6; (c) a letter by Mr. Murray dated September 29, 1943.

The luncheon was arranged to enable Mr. Murray to "sell" himself as "a point of reference and a point of origination concerned only with the broad picture of the interests of free enterprise as a whole." Said Mr. Murray: "The various agencies working for free enterprise have been engaged in their special tasks for particular industries or groups; and they have been doing their job well within these limitations. Moreover, it is better that there should not be formal co-operation. Nevertheless, there has been a certain amount of overlapping, contradiction, and confusion . . . Absence of imaginative planning and the loss of the psychological initiative has been increasingly apparent, but there has been a marked improvement recently and for this I do not hesitate to lay claim to some of the credit."

He described how his idea originated. "The step was taken upon the advice of leaders in finance and industry whose conclusions were unanimous that it was my duty to attempt to fill the gap that clearly existed. I was similarly advised as to ways and means . . . Public education, through existing channels, press, radio, service clubs, advertising and so on was to be strengthened and inspired on the keynote principle . . . To the four freedoms was to be added a fifth freedom, the prospect of freedom from government. The sense of partnership between labor and capital was to be inculcated. Something of the old pride in individual achievement that made possible our pioneering period was to be recaptured in the public imagination." (Later, Mr. Murray listed the channels to be used as "all agencies of idea-distribution and propaganda; the press, daily and weekly; the private radio stations; the service clubs; the schools, and all other accessible organizations.")

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they are basing their security upon a new close relationship with the United States. The United States, though we wouldn't admit the fact in public for a moment, tends to take the place which Britain has hitherto held as the main guarantor of our safety. In addition to which she has become the main guarantor of the safety of Great Britain herself. In such circumstances the idea of the British nations setting up for themselves in some exclusive alliance and indulging in the game of balance-of-power against the U.S.A. is preposterous. Yet the whole basis of the Smuts-Halifax type of thought is an effort to construct a balance against the power of the United States and of Russia.

Romantic Britishers, in Toronto as in London, when they observe this mixing up of Anglo-American affairs, like to think of the return of the prodigal American son to the dear old British Empire. They should cure themselves of such illusions by living for a while in the United States. A better metaphor than this of the prodigal son to express what is happening would be one which comes straight out of American life. And while all metaphors are dangerous, this one catches more accurately the attitude of mind with which most Americans themselves tend to regard the process. The United States is "muscling in" to the British Empire. Muscling in is quite a different kind of process from the return of the prodigal son.

The Americans have acquired naval and air bases on the British islands along their Atlantic frontier. They are staking out for themselves a large slice of the oil reserves in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf in what used to be counted as part of the British sphere of influence. They are expressing themselves freely about British policy in Palestine; and American troops are right on the spot in the Near East where their presence can give emphasis to American opinions. American liberals have been expressing themselves for some time on the question of India, and no doubt the presence of American troops there also gives emphasis to the more discreet hints of the Washington government. When the rubber and tin of Malaysia are ousted from Japanese control we may look for a certain amount of American muscling in there, too. Armies and air forces and lease-lend from the United States all over the British parts of the world are going to bring about some remarkable transformations in British imperialism in our day.

It is hard to say as yet whether all this points to a joint Anglo-American imperialism after the war or to a period of somewhat intense friction between the two English-speaking powers. One can muster a good deal of evidence to support either conclusion. But with the new ties between Canada and the South Pacific Dominions and the United States, and with the new diplomatic and commercial contacts which Canada has been establishing throughout the area of the United Nations, all talk of our going back to a day when Britain and her Dominions spoke to the world with one voice, a voice with a distinctly English accent, is simply irrelevant to the new world situation.

No doubt there will be a good many occasions on which we Canadians will find our new bonds with the United States somewhat unpleasant. The Americans are a masterful people, and they have not the long experience of the English in soothing the susceptibilities of touchy small nations. And if we are wise we will use our old established connections with Britain as a counterweight to balance our new connections with the United States. But this will not alter the inescapable fact of the transfer of leadership in the English-speaking world from the British to the Americans.

We need no longer worry about this change. It has already taken place. What we should now be worrying

about is the direction in which this American leadership is likely to go. Americans themselves are doing a lot of worrying over this matter, and our Canadian newspapers would be much more serviceable as guides to our opinion if they told us more about the discussions now going on south of the border. Early in February Mr. Wendell Willkie, who may be very important in determining the quality of this American leadership, delivered a speech in New York which has caused hardly any comment in Canada at all. He began his speech with a discussion of the United States as a world power, and some of his words are worth quoting:

"The fact is that the United States has always been a world power. Even when our Union was first formed in 1789, when our population was only 4,000,000, and we were in debt and all but defenseless, we were yet one of the mightiest powers on earth. Our power in those days, however, was neither financial nor military; we were of small account in the diplomatic councils of the world. Our power resided in an Idea—the Idea of self-government by free men; of self-government by men whose future would depend, not upon the will of kings or the plans of dictators, but upon their own innate courage and abilities. The American Idea changed the whole course of history. No riches, no navy, no army had ever exercised such power over the destinies of mankind. The American Idea, which our forefathers undertook as a dangerous but exciting experiment, has now proved itself. Our free society has made us the richest nation on earth . . . Today we are a world power in a sense other than ideological. And the great responsibility that we shoulder is the maintenance, despite this material power, of our former ideological leadership."

This is indeed the great question to which all our Canadian discussions of power politics ultimately lead. For what purposes is American power likely to be used, and how far are we in Canada going to share in those purposes?

## Gladstone Murray as a Point of Reference

► "THE SATURATION of public opinion by false doctrines is the most dangerous problem of the moment."

The above is from an address by Mr. Gladstone Murray at a private luncheon in Montreal. With the sentiment expressed we are in hearty agreement, though our ideas of what constitutes false doctrine appear to differ widely from Mr. Murray's. We believe, however, that it is less needful to determine which doctrines are true and which false, than it is to rid our minds of all doctrines, and get down to attacking our economic, social and political problems in a rational and practical manner. But we also believe that it is desirable to know the source of any proposals that are made, so that we can assess them in the light of what appears to be the interestedness or disinterestedness of the proposers.

This being so, we feel that a vote of thanks is due *The New Commonwealth* for printing in its January 27 issue certain documents relating to the current activities of Mr. Gladstone Murray. For in spite of Mr. Murray's avowal that "there is nothing sub rosa about these activities, nothing of which I or any participant need be ashamed," it seems doubtful that these documents would have become public property otherwise. The documents consist of (a) a verbatim report of an address by Gladstone Murray at a private luncheon at the Mount Royal Club, Montreal, June 21, 1943; (b) a letter by Mr. Murray dated August 4, 1943,

with an addendum dated August 6; (c) a letter by Mr. Murray dated September 29, 1943.

The luncheon was arranged to enable Mr. Murray to "sell" himself as "a point of reference and a point of origination concerned only with the broad picture of the interests of free enterprise as a whole." Said Mr. Murray: "The various agencies working for free enterprise have been engaged in their special tasks for particular industries or groups; and they have been doing their job well within these limitations. Moreover, it is better that there should not be formal co-operation. Nevertheless, there has been a certain amount of overlapping, contradiction, and confusion . . . Absence of imaginative planning and the loss of the psychological initiative has been increasingly apparent, but there has been a marked improvement recently and for this I do not hesitate to lay claim to some of the credit."

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abuse and innuendo, anything to distract attention, anything to stir up class and sectional prejudice. Just as the ethics of their creed when analyzed are found to be those of the hopeful burglar, so their manners in public controversy are those of the gutter; tiresome vituperation, the distorted product of diseased imaginations." Referring to a certain CCF booklet, he said: "The authors have not studied in vain the products of the champion lie factory—the Nazi National Socialist propaganda machine."

Well, there seem to be some who have studied that source, and not in vain. Now that we know the facts, we can judge for ourselves. But now, also, when we read the panegyrics on liberty, democracy and free enterprise in bank presidents' addresses, insurance company reports, advertisements of utility corporations, motor car companies and so on, or feel the wind of these magic words otherwise fluttering our emotions via "the press, daily and weekly; the private radio stations; the service clubs; the schools, and all other accessible organizations"—perhaps we may be pardoned for remembering the "point of reference and origination," and for hearing the echo of those other magic words: "New opportunities for venture capital . . . given the conditions of confidence."

## Canadian Policy and Latin America

*Donald MacIntyre*

► RECENT EVENTS in South America have shown the bankruptcy of United States policy towards Latin America: the State Department has based its approach upon a system of power politics on a small scale, and allowed a free hand to big interests to conclude international agreements which have received the tacit support of career diplomats, as in the instance of the U. S. envoy to Bolivia. This policy has borne the same fruit on our own continent as it did in Europe and Asia: we have discouraged those who could be our friends while appeasing our enemies, till now we find that the whole southern part of South America is waiting for worse events.

The "Greater Argentina" movement has manoeuvred a coup in Bolivia; and President Morinigo of Paraguay, who is a militarist himself, has visited Buenos Aires under the friendliest auspices. Chile and Uruguay are too healthily democratic to succumb at once, but the Argentines are at work in these countries too, and also in Peru. If any further developments are to be expected, it will be either in the form of a coup in Peru, or a desperate attack upon Chile by a Bolivian government desirous of keeping in power through a popular foreign war, whereby the latter country may gain an outlet to the sea.

In either case, Argentina is not likely to show her hand just yet in a hostile demonstration against Chile, a country that has been her traditional friend; but she is willing to profit by any move to bring Chile into her camp. In any event, the parallel between Chile and Czechoslovakia is striking: unless we are ready to take quick and courageous action, we are leaving Chile to pull our chestnuts out of the fire with little more than her fighting spirit and the promise of lend-lease.

What is the position of Canada in the midst of all this turmoil? Are we supporting these State Department policies? Are we hostile to them? Is the present Canadian government in any position to offer constructive assistance towards maintaining the peace on this continent?

Canada has both a personal and an altruistic interest in this matter. For our own welfare, we must be making friends instead of leaving even the faintest suspicion of either collaboration with or acquiescence in obsolete policies. After the war it would be to our advantage to reach friendly agreements with several Latin-American nations who market the same raw products as we do, so as to avoid cut-throat competition; and we must also establish friendly contacts, which fortunately are under way through the Department of Trade and Commerce, in order to see if we can go on supplying newsprint and electrical equipment, as well as expanding the variety of our exports on the basis of our wartime industrialization.

The present government has apparently been so lulled into a sense of false security by the very fact that we have at hand everything necessary for building up prosperous relationships abroad, that it has forgotten the one important ingredient: a policy. That the government has no policy is sufficiently demonstrated by its active responsibility for the breakdown of sanctions in the Ethiopian war, and its passive responsibility at Munich; by the manner in which it allowed Japan to be supplied with the raw materials of war right up to Pearl Harbor, while it failed to supply the finished product at Hong Kong; of being unable to think in terms of an expanding North until our Southern neighbor had to undertake the job for us. And now, when we are faced with a breakdown of peaceful relations on this very continent, when weapons as well as men may have to be diverted and squandered on our very doorstep, have we a policy?

Here we face the unselfish part of our interest. The Argentine menace is not necessarily a Nazi-engineered plot, much as the Germans may be working to derive advantage from it; but it is wise and foresighted to recognize that Argentina is a nation attacked by the same disease germs that have attacked the Axis powers. This can have no other result than to work itself out dangerously and contagiously for those nations surrounding her; and if we are not forearmed, we too shall suffer.

It is reported that part of our timidity is occasioned by a fear to move into commercial fields which have been preempted by United States interests. Perhaps some sections of United States big business may still want to use the big stick to defend an economic monopoly in a region which before the war was not its exclusive territory; but do we have to withdraw timidly, afraid that the big bully next door does not want us to walk on the street in front of our house?

The United States is not a big bully, and has always treated Canada with extreme consideration. This is just a dodge by the present incumbent in the Ministry of External Affairs to cover up what the *Globe and Mail* has called "the folly, shortsightedness and cowardice of his foreign policy" (Jan. 21st, 1944). It is too easy perhaps to look at the Gallup Poll and say that our country is not ready for entry to the Pan-American Union; but it is neither a courageous nor a foresighted attitude to refuse to analyse the course of our destiny. And more of our destiny than we realize lies right here on this continent of ours.

Therefore, in order to clarify Canadian policy as it applies to South and Central America, we should like to propose several principles:

(1) Canada must join the Pan-American Union. Furthermore, she must insist that this should be a fraternal and not a paternalistic union. The more that certain sections of big business may try to stake off the Latin-American market as their special preserve, the more Latin America will be repelled by such high-handed treatment, and seek

other friends like Canada. We smaller countries must support each others' policies in order to avoid such neo-colonialism.

(2) We should make an immediate offer of assistance to any Latin-American nation that wants to train its military personnel in Canada. The Brazilian Air Force has had several conducted tours, but how far have these gone? So has the Chilean Mounted Police.

Instead of waiting for offers of this sort, why not go after them? Mr. Power has mentioned an aircrew shortage; can he not induce Mexico, for instance, to send her boys for training here under the Joint Air-Training Plan, especially since Mexico is so willing to help in the common cause, and must be chary of sending her lads to face the zoot-suit stigma in the United States?

(3) Canadian traction companies have already shown that it is possible to aid these countries with our capital investments and engineering skill. We can continue this, not with the idea of exploiting more backward countries, but insisting on strict application of the golden rule, so that their development will create goodwill and therefore increase our trade and those ordinary human contacts that make life more attractive.

(4) TCA and our steamship companies should explore their chances of obtaining landing rights and port facilities. These negotiations must be done on a reciprocal basis such as we use within the British Commonwealth; they will go further that way than any other. The future employment of many Canadian boys in the RCAF, the RCN, and the merchant navy may depend upon the successful negotiation of these matters now. Mr. Michaud has said we shall be selling our merchant fleet, that has been built up at the cost of so many war bonds; but he excepted South America from those areas from which Canada would withdraw after the war. Is he thinking along lines similar to those set forth here?

Canada occupies a strategic position in the new air-age map, but if we do not bargain keenly with the United States for reciprocal privileges to cross its territory just as they will inevitably cross ours, we shall become only a grandiose filling-station on the world's highways. If we must bargain, then we must envisage our objectives clearly; and if, on a quid pro quo basis, we gain the right to cross the United States, then we can go only to Mexico, Cuba, and beyond. Are our eyes open to these possibilities?

(5) We can carry on the same type of negotiations in connection with trade treaties. The Department of Trade and Commerce has been busy in this respect, and Mr. MacKinnon has taken the matter particularly to heart. What we are more interested in is not how much has been accomplished abroad, but rather what basis of co-operation has been established in Ottawa between the East Block and the West Block.

(6) It is rumored that the Latin-American budget of the Wartime Information Board has been curtailed on the grounds that it is not a wartime necessity. Perhaps with the coming establishment of a Ministry of Reconstruction the attitude that it is unnecessary can be changed, and we can build up a real information network in Latin America. This should include offices on the spot in at least one city in Central America like Havana or Mexico City, and another in South America like Rio de Janeiro, Santiago de Chile, or Bogota; if such offices are necessary in the United States, they are just as necessary in countries where we are even less known.

(7) We need a similar educational campaign here at home, to educate the Canadian people to the changed and

changing circumstances of the present world. It is folly to keep our country in ignorance of these conditions, although unless the government itself knows what it wants, it cannot inform the people. Surely this likewise falls within the range of the WIB's activities, and it might help clear up that need of information which the Gallup Poll has shown Canada requires concerning the political conditions of this hemisphere of ours.

With these objectives in mind, then maybe Canada will gain what Senator Robertson has flamboyantly staked out for us, the role of interpreter of the smaller nations, instead of a stooge of the great powers. We shall not gain such a leading role by wishful thinking and laissez-faire; we shall gain it only by stepping forth and seizing opportunity by the forelock. Our five new ambassadors may have been paraded onto the diplomatic stage with all the pomp and circumstance of an Elgar March, but pomp and circumstance they will represent if we do not give them objectives to attain.

## Farewell to Arms? A Reply to Mr. Arthur Koestler

L.W.H.

Italy, December, 1943.

► SOME WRITERS have the faculty of always remaining their splendid selves even when they go off the rails of excellence and truth. Koestler is one of these. It is, I suppose, a test of genuine greatness. Apply it to lesser men and see how feebly they measure up.

When I returned to England, early in 1943, I was told by my Left-wing friends that Koestler was going off the rails. I took this with some grains of salt. Orthodox Marxists are always ready to put the mildest deviationist in the dog-house, regardless of merits or past services to the Cause—a characteristic Koestler himself noted in his rather bitter appraisal of the Russian millenium in *Darkness at Noon*.

Yet it does seem true that after a certain age the most ardent revolutionaries of the Left begin to backslide. Ramsay Macdonald springs automatically to mind. Shaw was perhaps never a serious Leftist, but it is sad to hear him talking semi-Fascist twaddle today. Vincent Sheean has jilted the inspiration of Rayna Prohme (*Personal History*, 1927) for the fashionable chitter-chatter of duchesses (*Between the Thunder and the Sun*, 1943). I hear that George Orwell, a former leader of the Left-wing press in England, has just taken over the editorship of the *Tribune* (which has begun to develop collaborationist symptoms) and now he occasionally contributes to the *Observer* . . . alas!

Ellen Wilkinson, whose staunch championship of Republican Spain shone like a light on the treachery and stupidity of pre-war years, has now hidden her candle under the bushel of the Tory Coalition, and it is in the vanguard no more. We have seen Herbert Morrison follow the same course . . . and others too numerous to mention. Even when it is not a case of complete desertion to the opposite camp (as in the case of the renegade Morrison) there is a marked tendency to defeatism and pessimism. And this is what we now find in our old ally, Koestler.

He is not without justification. No doubt, after a lifetime of physical and mental torture (he has been hunted over most of Europe by the Fascist police, without always escaping, and he was sentenced to death in Spain) and in the light of the current outlook in Italy and elsewhere, he is

entitled to withdraw from the active struggle. Still one does not like to see him fall into the liberal-bourgeois phraseology of his latest articles. In a recent contribution to the *New York Times*, "We Need a Fraternity of Pessimists," he calls attention to the decline of an "an interregnum twilight," "a hollow of the historical wave," retreats for civilization in Norway or Spain, and "oases in a world of bellicose, managerial giant states of the Burnham pattern." Where have we heard all this before? Was it not in the defeatist Liberal and Conservative press of the thirties?

It is true that the outlook from the Left viewpoint is not as bright as it seems. The British-American conquest of Europe has so far, by the example of Italy, turned out to be largely in the interests of reaction. The servile Italian peasant has changed Dux to Rex on the wall of his hovel, without any appreciable improvement of his fortunes. The labor movements back home (and especially in England) have indeed missed their big opportunity for state-socialism which presented itself after Dunkerque. In fact, the popular demand for nationalization of industry at that time has resulted in a new lease for its tottering dividends under the aegis of government control. The much publicized trend to the Left is only an illusion — except in Canada where there is always a time-lag in reaction to world events of months and even years. Russia has dissolved the Third International, and abolished the song we sang with such stubbornness and hope at the rallies for Spain and demonstrations against Munich. It typifies her transition from what Koestler calls "Horizontalism" (Internationalism) to "Verticalism" (Nationalism). The war on monopoly capital, which is Koestler's war, and Lenin's war, and the masses' war, has indeed entered a new phase. But we must not on that account retreat into fraternities of pessimism. Lenin never did, with much more reason than Koestler. How much nearer are we to the socialist objective now than in 1919, when we had an expeditionary force on the continent actively fighting the Bolsheviks; how many more friends has the Revolution, how many more weapons!

Koestler is getting old. Some get old early, while others, like Lenin, stay ever young and dauntless. We all know that this attitude of resignation, this talk of planting "oases," and retreats to ivory towers, is all part of the counter-revolutionary jargon of laissez-faire and bogus humanitarianism. Even though there are grounds for dismay, we must not say so, or advocate retreat (what else is an oasis?) for this is to play the game of our adversaries, and betray the constant sacrifices of our friends on all fronts.

No, Koestler has earned his farewell to arms, he has suffered much, and, I think, lost heart. *Requiescat in pace.* But it is not for us, who are still strong, to follow him into despair. We must carry on without thought of retreat, we must continue to cement the bonds of internationalism (particularly in the strongest international body, the proletariat) and refuse to take part in the mischief of the nationalists who would divide the masses of the world in their own interests. As this war takes on the character of a purely national struggle, we must watch it closely, ready to further it as long as it protects the "horizontal" interests of the world against the "vertical" interests in the form of Fascism, and ready to renounce the struggle as soon as it becomes strictly a vendetta between rival "vertical" interests.

This latter situation is now rapidly approaching. We must not retreat.

(This article, by a young Canadian in the armed forces, has been passed by the Censor.)

## *Faultless Lay Your Faulted Heart*

Faultless lay your faulted heart  
in these slickensided hands,  
the everlasting hills shall part  
and crumble into drifting sands,  
but this moment you and I  
fold the earth and fill the sky.

Heated beneath December moons,  
hardened in April-showered moss,  
the subterranean purpose runs  
regardless of the surface gloss;  
as underneath the smiling skies  
smoke the lavas of your eyes.

O love, what is this time that we  
build up our peaks, but to destroy;  
in our most passionate contact see  
passion vitrify its joy;  
cry to be near, but in the juncture are  
changed to each other and afar?

And is our hope the sin, that now  
the separate strata of belief  
crumple, and cheated by our vow  
we cannot adjust ourselves to grief,  
in the delusion of done times  
summon anachronistic rhymes?

Plot our maps in the usual terms,  
identify the usual fun,  
imagine as heretofore the germ  
will find the father in the son,  
while all the while the foreign fires  
have fossilized the old desires?

Love, in the changing substance of  
these mortal hours the time has come  
featureless and fissured, love,  
conditionless to yield our dumb  
and endurable complaint  
to the world's restraint.

Then faultless lay your faulted heart  
in these slickensided hands:  
the individual seasons part  
but the impassionate moment stands,  
and one with it we shall not prove  
far from each other and our love.

James Wreford.

## *Lines To Be a Last Song*

This is my love then, this and never more,  
A gem to hold in your hand and turn to the light;  
Only this ache that earth and beauty bore,  
This loneliness for night.

Take it and hide it in the deepest heart;  
Seal it securely from the world's decay;  
And never reveal it, least of all to me,  
And it might stay.

D.C.S.

# PLANNING POST-WAR CANADA

*A Special Section of THE CANADIAN FORUM*

March, 1944

## War Teaches Canada to Plan for Peace

*Garland Mackenzie*

### 3. WARTIME CONTROL OF OUR HUMAN RESOURCES

► PARALLEL WITH the need for planning and control of war and civilian production has been the need for planning and control over our resources of man and woman-power.

As the requirements of the armed forces, war industries and essential civilian industries expanded, shortages of personnel began to threaten the success of all three. There has been a clear need for an integrated plan for the use of manpower co-ordinated with the plans of the other control agencies. Such plan would attack the problem in three ways.

First, it would try to increase the labor supply, by bringing into employment housewives, handicapped persons and others not normally employed, by eliminating chronic unemployment (including conscription of the voluntary idler whether he is at the top or bottom of the social scale) and by reducing seasonal and other short term unemployment to the lowest practical point. Second, it would promote the best possible use of available personnel by careful selection and placement, by eliminating short time, by reducing unnecessary labor turnover; and by an active policy to improve industrial relations, to avert disputes and secure the enthusiastic support of the worker. Third, it would distribute the available supply to the most essential needs, directing transfers in an orderly way from the less essential occupations to the armed forces, the war plants and the essential civilian industries and agriculture.

Our attempt at manpower planning has run into many difficulties. It got off to a bad start with control divided among the Armed Services, the Labor Department and the Department of National War Services, and none of these had any overall control, either individually or jointly. Finally, NSS was set up with wide powers to control the supply and distribution of personnel. It has not yet exercised those powers in full.

The task of NSS has been made much more difficult by the highly emotional public attitudes and controversies which have befogged and bedeviled the manpower problem. One is the basic cleavage between English and French Canadians on the question of overseas service. Perhaps even worse has been a mutual and growing distrust between government and labor. The fault is largely the government's for failing to take labor into its confidence or to give it a share in the war planning and administration, as was done in Great Britain. As a result labor has felt that it has no share in the policy, that its needs have received no consideration, or even that anti-labor elements are in the saddle. The government has failed to find men, either in or out of organized labor, who could gain the confidence of labor and explain and defend the overall plan.

For example, some form of wage limitation is absolutely essential to any wartime stabilization program, but the wage ceiling has seemed to labor to have been callously imposed

from above by people who are only too glad to put labor in its place. Naturally, in these circumstances, the wage freeze was opposed by labor, especially as it froze a good many injustices. The government would be well advised to take labor into its confidence and make it an active partner in the administration even at this late date. Earlier, it would have been well advised to use the simplification program and the subsidy program to adjust the grosser injustices of the wage ceiling, just as they were used to correct inequitable situations under the price ceiling.\*

The government might have sponsored production and efficiency bonus plans; these have worked well in many United States plants when they have been worked out jointly by workers and management, not installed by management arbitrarily. By promoting higher individual output they make possible an increase in earnings without increasing production costs; while they add to consumer purchasing power, they also provide a larger volume of goods and therefore have little or no inflationary effect.

NSS also suffers from a continuance of divided control. While it is responsible for the supply of labor, the price of labor (i.e. wage rates) is under the National War Labor Board and the regional boards. We noted how WPTB found that price and supply overlap and interlock, raising problems that call for joint solutions. It is easy to imagine the confusion, contradictory orders and failures if WPTB authority had been limited to prices and some other agency had dealt with supply. In fact, it is just such divided authority in the United States between OPA and WPB which has stultified the domestic programs of both.

In Canada, NSS has found the same difficulties in trying to plan the supply and distribution of labor without authority over its price. Often a plant or industry has been declared essential and NSS has attempted to provide more workers only to find that the wage scale in the essential industry is lower than in the unessential industries in the same area. With no authority to adjust wages NSS has all too frequently been unable to arrange the needed transfer of workers. Admittedly this is the most difficult problem of wartime planning —how to make desirable wage adjustments while maintaining a price ceiling on the products of the industries where adjustments are required.

These problems of NSS are an illuminating example of the difficulty in planning too little and too late. From the beginning of war some people saw the need for a comprehensive labor plan and some form of selective service. The government relied too long on an unplanned distribution of manpower, based on voluntary enlistment and voluntary movement of workers into war industry. The movement to war industry was achieved by the purely capitalistic device of paying higher wages in these industries than for comparable jobs in other industries. In the early stages it worked, but it was obviously disastrous to go on raising wages without any limit in wartime. Eventually the government had to stabilize wages to permit stabilization of prices. Then it found that a thousand anomalous situations had been stabilized.

\*This article was written prior to the publication of the majority and minority reports of the National War Labor Board and the new wage control order based on the recommendations of the majority report. As we go to press it is uncertain whether this order will ever become operative in its present form.

For instance, wages were usually high in the plants making tanks, guns, etc., but usually low in the mills making the steel to make the tanks and guns, low in the mines that supply nickel to toughen the steel and in the collieries that supply heat and power to both steel mill and arsenal. The result has been a relative surplus of labor available to many of the plants making the arms, along with an acute shortage of the labor needed to supply these plants with raw materials, heat and power, and a host of ancillary needs such as canteen service for night shifts, sanitary services, packing materials, etc.

In brief, manpower planning has been our least successful effort to date. Yet it would be a great error to minimize the useful work done by NSS or to swallow the carping criticisms of such special pleaders as the *Globe and Mail*. Despite all blunders, politics and divided authority, personnel has been supplied to our armed forces, war industries and essential civilian industries. The failure has been relative only, failure in comparison with an ideal standard. If there had been any failure in the absolute sense, if men and women had not been made available, on the whole, when and where needed, then all the other wartime programs would have either broken down or been revised downward drastically.

NSS was set up much later than the other control agencies; its plans are less fully developed and its successes less publicized. It has some solid achievements to its credit. Its first step was to order that no employer could hire a worker and no worker could accept employment without a permit. This abolished the "free labor market" and gave NSS considerable power to direct workers to the places where they were needed most. Prior to this order there was nothing to prevent a man from taking a job with a manufacturer of Christmas tree decorations while a food processing plant in the same area was slowed down for lack of staff. It is true that NSS did not compel the worker to take the job in the food industry, but NSS did make sure that the man was referred to the food industry and all other high priority employers before he went near the maker of decorations. In the vast majority of cases this resulted in the man going to work in some essential occupation.

The next step was a compulsory registration of all men and single women of employable age. Again there was no compulsory placement, but persuasion and information about available jobs led to many individual placements.

Next, NSS froze the workers to their present employers in the highest priority industries, e.g., war plants, steel, coal and base metals, agriculture. Just lately this freeze has been extended to the food processing industries and various others. In these industries no worker may quit his job and no employer may dismiss a worker without written approval of NSS. This should reduce the waste of unnecessary job changes at the whim of either employer or employee. If wisely administered it will not prevent the individual from improving his position if more highly rated work is available in an equally essential industry.

The last stage of the NSS plan to date has been the more or less compulsory transfer of workers out of the unessential industries. A series of orders has been issued designating a wide variety of industries and occupations as non-essential. Workers in these categories are required to register with NSS and are directed to vacancies in essential occupations. While they are not forced to accept any particular job they remain available for further direction by NSS until an acceptable job is found in a high rating. Meanwhile, they are permitted to return to their old jobs on temporary permits only. Individual injustice or hardship is minimized by an administrative regulation which requires that none except very unusual cases are referred to work at a lower rate of pay than

their previous rate. Thousands of transfers have been made under this plan, and no doubt the plan will be continued and extended.

To date, job freezing and compulsory transfer apply to male workers only. The reasons have not been stated but we may guess that they are based on sound consideration. NSS has been conducting a vigorous campaign to draw into employment women who do not normally work nor need to work—married women, single women not dependent on earnings, wives of servicemen, etc.—and this campaign might be set back by a freezing or compulsory transfer of such workers.

The foregoing articles have given the story of our war planning to date, in broad, brief outline, with many oversimplifications and much left out. This is how we doubled our national output in four years and raised a respectable army, navy and air force to boot.

(In his next article, Mr. Mackenzie will discuss the possibility of applying controls to our peacetime financing.)

## Collectivism in Agriculture

*Colin Cameron*

► I HAVE JUST FINISHED reading Mr. David Smith's article on "The Farmer's Stake in Post-War Planning" in the January issue of *The Canadian Forum* and although reading it sapped (in the words of Mr. Smith) my "mental health and vigor" to some extent, I still have strength enough to utter a few faint moans about Mr. Smith's economics and sociology.

Mr. Smith postulates as the "first and most important point in all discussions regarding post-war agriculture," the planning of agricultural production. In this I am as Mr. Smith's twin soul. But when we come to economic planning, an economic process, we find that our first point of consideration must be efficiency. Mr. Smith wants the farmer to maintain or increase his production, to work shorter hours for a larger share of the national income, and to have the amenities of modern life, such as electric power, health services and modern plumbing. No one would quarrel with him in this, least of all the writer who has had some experience of doing without these things. But, as for everything else in this hard world, there is a price to be paid for these things.

Before the worker engaged in the production of manufactured goods could have a larger net income, the amenities of modern life and at least the rudiments of educational and health services, it was necessary for his work to be organised on a collective basis. This is not to say that the industrial worker of today gets anything like an adequate supply of these tangible and intangible goods, but he gets vastly more of them than was possible for his individually-working ancestor. Why should Mr. Smith imagine that agricultural production is in a different category, immune from the laws that govern every other section of our economy?

Surveys made of U.S. dairy farms have led those conducting the surveys to the conclusion that the optimum size for a dairy farm, from the point of view of efficiency, is the 100-acre farm. How would such a farm fit into Mr. Smith's picture of individual farms whose co-operation extends no further than the joint use of machinery? In order to have a dairy farm which suits Mr. Smith's pattern of rural life, we must reduce its size to that which one man can operate by himself, for of course Mr. Smith will have the same moral objection to one hired man as to a hundred. A farm of such a size will not be able to carry the costs of such things as electrification and a milking-machine, and the consumer, who is making boots and shoes and pots and pans for the farmer, will be asked to pay considerably more for his quart of milk

and pound of butter than he needs to, in order to preserve "the mental health and vigor" of the farmer.

It is true enough that Mr. Smith uses the term "commercialized" for the type of farming he disapproves of. If he is envisaging large privately owned farms organized like any other capitalist factory, there may be some point to his objections; although there is little doubt that even under those circumstances the wage-earner on such a farm would be much better off with regard to wages, working conditions, and hours of work than 75% of the present farmers of Canada. But it is strange that a contributor to *The Canadian Forum* should never have heard of socialism. I assume that Mr. Smith cannot have heard of it or he would not be able to say that "the only way in which we can avoid the establishment of large farms run by machinery and hired labor will be to develop new techniques for the use of machinery." May I suggest that not even Mr. Smith nor the devotees of the family farm in the C.C.F. will be able to prevent the establishment of large machine-operated farms, which will be operated for the sole purpose of producing foodstuffs economically. It is possible, however, to prevent their establishment on a capitalist basis with an exploited group of workers.

There are factors in farm life which certainly are conducive to the development of "mental health and vigor." But the individualist basis of present-day farming is not one of them. On the contrary it is a decided deterrent to mental health. Personal experience in milking ten cows twice a day, seven days a week, along with all the other work involved in maintaining these ladies in the style to which they were accustomed, produced no evidence that one's mental health and vigor are noticeably increased in the process. In fact one rapidly deteriorates into an almost brainless automaton who "works to produce the wherewithal to eat to get the strength to work, etc., etc."

The mental vigor which Mr. Smith is anxious to preserve (or to develop if not now present?), is the result of working with natural forces and being an active agent in the great cycle of growth, ripening and decay which takes place season by season on the land. It is not and cannot be the result of the isolation and drudgery which too often accompany farm life today.

Collectivism in agriculture is inevitable. It is the task of socialists to point this out to farmers and to urge them to build their own collective organization before someone else comes along and does it for them. Nor need Mr. Smith fear that the result will be a monotonous mechanical life which will sap mental health and vigor. Properly organized, the large range and diversity of operations involved in farming will give scope for a tremendous mental development. Nothing in farm operations will approach in soulless monotony the work of an industrial worker who day after day turns out the same article or fraction of an article. Here we do face a real danger of loss of mental health and vigor, which may well constitute a real social problem in the future.

## More About Organized Farming

The Editor:

In your January issue David Smith wrote: "Farming has now become mechanized . . . it must not become commercialized." Just what does he mean? Surely farming is commercial from the point where the farm family ceases to produce for itself and commences to produce for the market price. That being so it is imperative that commerce be ethically just, intelligent, and thorough.

To produce for market price is by no means the same thing as producing for one's own use. Price is a fickle creature, swayed hither and thither by untold influences; her behaviour is about as predictable as the weather, and she is most unreliable as a purveyor of income. Some people still talk of fixing price notwithstanding the historical failure to fix the price of gold. Others talk of confining it 'twixt floors and ceilings, but methinks the price of milady's hat will for all time depend upon the tilt of the hat and the length of milady's purse — and why not, provided she does not get it on time?

Cost may very properly be a minor factor in the determination of ultimate price, consequently there is no parity between it and cost. Leaving aside aesthetic values, the ultimate price of a commodity tends always to become common at a given time, be it scrap-iron or wheat, but at no time do either have a common cost. The pertinent question here is: Why should the man who hauls scrap-iron ten miles be paid as little as the man who hauls it ten rods? Surely the laborer is worthy of his hire?

*The farmer's economic predicament comes of his reliance solely and directly upon the current price of his particular product for his income. From this source he cannot have anything approaching a just and secure return for his expended labor; furthermore, while he relies upon price as the gauge of income he can never attain parity of income with those (so called) non-producers whose income is based on quite other considerations.*

(A false and mischievous line is drawn between producer and consumer, but a little careful thought should show that production comes of a complex series of contributive work, and that all necessary work is productive. The division proper is between production and consumption.)

But to come closer to the matter in hand. Mr. Smith (he is not alone) would add yet another co-operative to better the farmer's economic condition — a co-operative for use of farm machinery. These extraneous co-operatives are all to the good and in themselves may be successful; there is, however, quite a bit of humbug about them. They are *farm* co-operatives only in the sense that they are "owned" and directed by farmers, but not farm co-operatives by virtue of what they do. That they differ in purpose and organization from other institutions doing similar work does not make them any more an integral part of farm economy than the other institutions are. Either can, given ordinary skill and the necessary work, be in themselves profitable, for they are in a position to *charge on a scale which assures profit*; and further, they are sufficiently far removed from basic price changes that they are little affected by them. If perchance they buy, the buying is done relative to ensuing price with no reference to cost; and if it be handling then it is so much per X without reference to the cost of worth of X. On this basis a balance to cover cost plus profit is for them an almost exact science and predictable.

Doubtless a farm machinery co-operative could show such a balance and on that score would be counted a success, even though it failed in the purpose for which it was organized, viz., to better the farmer's economic condition. And fail in this it would, as others have done for the reasons emphasized above.

The solution of the farm problem lies along the co-operative way, starting with the farm itself. This way the farmer could share in the benefits of a widely diversified economy, a well equipped and organized agriculture, enjoy economic security, and possibly time out to play ball.

DAVID SUTER, Juniata, Saskatchewan.

## Housing is Not Philanthropy

*Domicilius*

► THE PHILANTHROPIC conception of housing dies hard. A heritage of the 19th century, when Tory reformers organized societies "for improving the conditions of the laboring classes," this sentimental fiction rejects the broad ideal of providing decent new houses in a pleasant environment for everyone. It would have housing efforts confined to giving paupers less degrading accommodation. And this, we are told, would be absurdly simple. Convince the high-minded, practical business men who constitute the "better element" (those who in the name of free enterprise throttle the economic life of the nation) that a considerable number of their fellow-citizens are forced to live in subhuman conditions, and they'll open their purse strings in an orgy of Christian generosity!

Housing in its fundamental aspects is not philanthropy. It's time a dash of cold water was applied to the theory that it is. Well-designed, properly-constructed dwellings will never be supplied at a price the majority of the population can afford if we depend on an appeal to the charitable instincts of those who worship at the shrine of the sacrosanct "profit motive." These gentlemen who, behind the pseudo-democratic facade of free elections, irresponsibly regulate our individual fates will never willingly surrender one iota of their self-assumed "rights" and "privileges." Any betterment in the living conditions of the people to date has only been conceded because it appeared to our lords and masters the least objectionable of two choices. Had the second alternative, sometimes approaching an open revolt, been less repugnant, it would have been selected instead.

It is as important to know one's enemy as to know one's self. Anticipating a post-war struggle by the masses to achieve economic and political freedom, the most reactionary of the capitalist interests are already consolidating and grouping their forces in preparation for a last ditch defense of entrenched monopoly.

At the same time, there is encouraging evidence that the barriers between racial and geographical groups in Canada—so long fostered for private gain by those desiring to exploit all while playing one against the other—are breaking down. Our various peoples are discovering that they have more in common than they have apart. The great proportion of the population, the 84 per cent who in 1941 earned less than the \$1,500 estimated by the Federal Department of Labor as essential for a decent standard of living, are awakening. They don't want better housing as something handed down to them from on high. They feel they have a *right* to it, like facilities for work, for play, for health and education. They are beginning to see through the fiction that individual home ownership is a universally attainable ideal. More and more the desire is for the type of dwelling and environment which modern science and technology make possible.

War has proven that anything physically desirable can be made financially possible. When the proper time comes, Canadians are not likely to be misled by claims that better housing will sap their initiative. They will not easily be convinced that fresh air and sunshine impair their health or that eyesight suffers from beauty and attractiveness. Most encouraging, the maturing of a virile political agency capable of making a collective advance indicates hope of future progress.

## Still No Plan

► THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE which opened the current session of the Canadian parliament gave no hint that the government has yet grasped the need of an overall plan by which our economy can be organized for full production when we return to a peacetime basis.

The program bristled with promises—to industrialists, to exporters, to farmers, to men now in the armed services, and to the nation at large by way of housing, health and social security measures—a truly table d'hôte bill of fare. But like all such menus, the quality of its dishes can be judged only when they are on the table.

Even if some of these dishes turn out to be first class, however, they will prove indigestible unless the body economic is in good working order. And our political doctors' neglect of this simple fact seems likely to plunge us into another bad case of economic dyspepsia.

Even on its own diagnosis, the government appears to be sublimely careless of the patient's danger. It has made it quite clear that private industry will be called upon to handle the organization of our peacetime production. But one looks in vain for any sign that an attempt is being made to find out just what our industrialists think they can do. We have heard a good deal about "post-war planning" from certain sections of industry, but on examination this has turned out to consist mostly of vague and optimistic pronouncements without statistical support. So far as we are aware, no comprehensive survey, or even estimate, has been made of our existing and potential plant, and of our human and material resources, either by government or by industry, to indicate how many people can be put to work when the war ends, and to what extent we can maintain and increase in peacetime the production and national income without which any sound "social security" program is a mere sham.

Instead, we have the same old incantations about freeing the world from obstacles to international trade, seeking co-operation with other nations, and making things easy for our exporters. We need all these things, and should work for them, but to profit by any success we may attain, we must first organize our own resources.

Mr. Bracken, leading his party from outside parliament, has nothing more to offer, except in the vaguest and most general terms. "Canada for the Canadian people, but not a policy of isolation; full development of the country's national resources; share the fruits of development equitably, with agriculture, labor and industry sitting in with the government to discuss their common problems; raise the living standards by promoting trade; raise the living standards by promoting peace." Excellent; but how?

So far as the immediate post-war period goes, the only concrete proposals made have been Mr. Coldwell's: "1, a commitment by parliament to spend a specific sum—say \$5,000,000,000—in the immediate post-war period; 2, a commitment to spend at least \$500,000,000 on housing in city and country; 3, a plan for rural electrification; 4, an undertaking to maintain service personnel on full pay and allowances until they are absorbed in remunerative employment; 5, retention of government-owned war plants under public ownership and their conversion to peacetime use, such as production of farm implements and supplies, airplanes and prefabricated houses; 7, a large program of scientific research; 8, along with public ownership of banks, creation of a national investment board to direct savings into socially desirable channels."

## How Cartels Broke the German Republic

*A. J. Rosenstein*

► IN A PREVIOUS ARTICLE the writer discussed the industrial offensive launched by Germany in pursuance of the victim, simultaneously with the strengthening and development of the self-sufficiency of the aggressor nation. Spearheading this industrial offensive of Germany, which got under way about 1926, were the tremendous industrial cartels of Germany and world cartels, headed, dominated or inspired by or affiliated with German high finance.

Full appreciation of the role played by cartels in this offensive is impossible without at least a cursory glance at the history of the cartels as such. An excellent objective survey of this history will be found in the testimony of Heinrich Kronstein, Professor of Comparative Law at Georgetown University Law School at Washington, D.C., as rendered before the Bone Committee on Patents of the U.S. Senate on April 28th, 1942.

"Hitler built up his system on the institutions he found when he came into power. One of the most important institutions he found was the cartel and patent system as developed since 1879. . . . Cartels are tools used to accomplish certain ends. They have no life of their own; it is the people behind them that gave them life. . . . The psychology of these people, their efficiency or laziness, their defensive or offensive spirit, together make up the spirit of the cartels. . . ."

"In Germany since 1879, Cartels have been used for three purposes: 1. to satisfy the profit hunger of private business organizations; 2. to do this, but at the same time to win influence over the political and economic organizations of the nation on behalf of private interests; 3. to serve as a means of governmental political power. . . ."

"The German cartel system developed under very specific conditions to accomplish very specific ends. Germany was the last Western power to enter the industrial field. Until the legislation of Zollverein made possible a sufficiently high tariff to permit the establishment of producing plants [in Germany] it was almost exclusively the customer for products manufactured by other nations. . . . The export figures of Germany increased as never before. After this date [1879] in almost every German field, German industry developed into the most powerful industry in Europe. England was suddenly confronted with a competition not only with the European countries outside of Germany but in all parts of the world. . . ."

This competition by Germany was made possible only by the recognition and adoption of the cartel as an instrument of national policy. The very essence of such an industrial organization was the ruthless curtailment of competition and the subordination of the essential principles of free competition to the arbitrary dictates of monopoly power. The individual's freedom of action was simply a meaningless maxim of liberal economists who pretended to live in a world of free trade. Free competition, where it existed, degenerated into a struggle for quotas in every cartel. Devices such as patents, organized for the protection of the individual, became a device for the establishment of control and monopoly power. The doctrine of liberty of contract was prostituted by apologists for the system so as to enable the birth of combinations of large industries in restraint of trade.

The high tariff system built up in Middle Europe in the relatively small country which was Germany, permitted the

German cartel system to flourish, but developed industries which could not be kept employed by the German people alone; and the country's borders were literally bursting with the pent-up industrial and productive power which required its outlet in other markets.

The Hitlerite cry of *Lebensraum* stems from the last quarter of the 19th Century. This cartel development of German industry carried German productive capacity to such a peak beyond German capacity to utilize the products that conflict with other powers came about in 1914. This conflict between Germany and world powers was unavoidable under the system. *Festung Europa* of 1914 argued, just as in 1939, that it had been encircled and that its existence could only be continued by broadening its own field.

As the danger of war grew, so did the significance of the government of Germany as the best customer of German industry. While on the surface Germany appeared to be unified to an unprecedented degree, actually the government was only the most powerful group among a number of groups existing within the nation, such as the cartels, the trade unions, etc. However, the entire equipment of the German war economy was at hand. This organized economy could produce a maximum of certain goods, restrict production of non-essential goods and replace scarce products with newly invented substitutes.

The whole cartel system and its activities in restraint of trade became the instrument of the government war policy. The cartels were made the basis of all the so-called "war corporations." These provided the necessary machinery for the procurement of raw materials, whether by seizure, country had been so accustomed to centralized control of production and distribution that the machinery functioned smoothly and not without profit to the cartels and to the industrialists behind these "war corporations."

As the war progressed, the German government found itself enslaved to industry which was expected not only to produce but to substitute its goods. Professor Kronstein in testifying said:

"When the war was over, the development [of the cartels] can be understood more easily if we have in mind the following facts:

"1. German industry lost its foreign subsidiary patents and foreign property by the Versailles Treaty.

"2. Other countries could freely establish high tariffs while the German government, at least up to 1924, lost its power to regulate tariff legislation independently.

"3. German industry was confronted with a large number of new European States such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc., which had all new tariff borders and tried to become self-sufficient as much as possible.

"4. German industry had to import raw materials which up till 1914 it had in its own territory, especially zinc which had now to be imported to a large extent from Upper Silesia which was under Polish jurisdiction.

"5. German industry, on the other hand, had a very much greater capacity than it had had before the outbreak of war because during the war new plants, technical processes, equipment, etc., were established without any consideration for future economic development. The same happened in other countries which up to the war sent their raw materials to Germany to have them transformed into finished products.

"6. The government itself lost not only its tariff power but also its social standing. The industrial class prevailed in the structure of the nation.

"7. The government had to rely upon industry in connection with the performance of many provisions of the peace

treaty; for instance they required the export of a certain amount of coal dye stuffs to the victorious countries which previously could only be performed by the entity of the dye stuff industries.

"8. The German government had to rely upon industry in the problem of demobilization and of transferring the returning army men to jobs in industries.

"9. The government lost its position as the largest customer for armament purposes and could not re-establish this position."

According to Professor Kronstein, this situation was worsened by the inflation of 1923 which permitted industry to cancel its own debt by the inflation policy, leaving the government with its uncancelable foreign and domestic debt. The inflation also permitted the industrial merger movement to develop with rapidity to such an extent that by 1940, with the assistance of the National Socialist Party, the management of 170 corporations controlled 56 per cent. of the entire German business capital.

Another factor which hastened the development of the cartel system was the fear of a loss of capital during the inflationary period. It was this fear that brought about cartel agreements between producers, wholesalers and retailers, whereby prices were fixed from day to day and co-ordinated with the precipitous depreciation of currency, while simultaneously productive capacity of the country was tremendously accelerated.

With the rationalization and insistence by labor upon gold standard wages, the inflation came to an end with the loss by the middle class of a very large percentage of its entire property.

Germany's expanded industry was obliged either to penetrate the exclusionary tariff system of the world, or to obtain assistance from the outside world. German subsidiaries were established in various countries to overcome the effect of domestic tariff acts. With the establishment of such German subsidiaries in foreign lands, these subsidiaries became the greatest advocates for high tariffs so as to exclude foreign competition. For the protection of these subsidiaries against domestic competition, German subsidiary companies obtained patents on processes and on products, and correlated their industrial policies to the dictates of the parent German companies.

Where the above methods were insufficient or could not establish the proper control, agreements were entered into with local non-German enterprises interested in such patents because they owned patents of their own which could be rendered more useful and valuable by obtaining the license of the German patents.

Another cartel motive for such local non-German firms was that in some cases they were afraid that the use of the German patents might prove ruinous competition against their own products, and they were therefore willing to pay considerable sums for a participation in the German patents, or the exclusion of the German patents, or the exchange of their own patents for the German patents.

An example of this type is in the field of electric bulbs. The headquarters of this cartel was in Switzerland and provided for the distribution of markets, standardization of products, and restriction of production. U.S. firms did not directly participate because of anti-trust legislation, but extensive collaboration agreements with the U.S. firms, providing for mutual patent protection, were negotiated. Inventions and experience were exchanged, and reservation of certain countries for exclusive supply was made. The result was that the world agreement could be attacked from the American side, and the American producers, without violation of anti-trust laws, were thereby enabled to reserve the

American market for themselves on their own conditions, and the aim of distribution of markets was achieved.

The German Republican government was powerless. It had lost control of production, control over markets, and to a certain extent, control of international policy, by reason of the fact that these cartels were international, and actually constituted international trade treaties, negotiated not by German diplomatic representatives but by representatives of cartels and similar monopolistic combinations in restraint of trade.

The German ambassadors in the countries of the world found themselves literally in competition with individual trade representatives not responsible to any governmental power. Shorn of this power, the German government at home gradually disintegrated, and with this disintegration, the ambitions of German big business were realized.

(This is the second article by Mr. Rosenstein on Cartels. A third will appear in an early issue.)

## French-Canadian Poetry

*Laure Rièse*

► THIS IS NOT an attempt to be as thorough nor as witty as Northrop Frye in his previous article on Canada and its Poetry. He demanded a French philanthropist to write a companion volume to Mr. Smith's. The philanthropist is found; it is Guy Sylvestre, and the person bold enough or foolish enough to comment upon it is myself. After having glanced at the 445 pages of Smith's Anthology and pondered religiously over the 132 pages, nicely set, it is true, of M. Sylvestre's *Anthologie de la Poésie canadienne d'expression française\**, one wonders if the latter bears either criticism or a place in this paper.

An anthology is rarely adequate or satisfying. It represents a reflection of the particular mood of the chooser, his fancies often hiding the aim or purpose of the choice. Such is the case here. We cannot quite see whether M. Sylvestre chooses these particular poems in order to give us a competent, complete picture of French-Canadian poetry, or because in their literary attempts, the poets chosen came nearer to God *en abolissant partiellement nos limites* as the preface puts it. There is however a marked discrepancy between the lofty poetic mysticism required in his introduction and the poems quoted thereafter. According to M. Sylvestre's idea, poetry cannot be defined, its sole aim is to give us *un succès du monde, d'un moment de vie d'une goutte de joie spirituelle*. His *Ersatz* for the universe is altogether marred by Love: product of the vague, mournful, sensitive Lamarrianian sobs, of the cult of the Virgin, of the conventional adoration of Nature. Those poems, according to M. Sylvestre, are human because they depict *un chant d'amour du monde et de son auteur*. Love has a large place in poetry, but unless it finds new expression, new symbols and even different nationalistic roots, it can be quite boring. Those pseudo-Classical, Romantic, Parnassian and even Modernistic themes are hardly the real expression of Canadian poetry. The transcendental genius of Jacques Maritain's philosophy seems a ridiculous vehicle for French-Canadian poetry.

In any country where the minority differs strongly from the majority in language, ideas, political views, one finds a strong tendency to escape into the cult of regionalism, into a mystical vision of one's *arpents de terre*. It is perhaps fitting here to digress, and to note that, while the French minority in Switzerland gave to the world a lyric strain measured with a parsimony due undoubtedly to the shadow cast by Calvin

\**Anthologie de la Poésie canadienne d'expression française*: Guy Sylvestre, Editor; Bernard Valquette (Montreal); pp. 132.

over any theme that might be called frivolous, on the contrary French-Canadian poets are as prolific as the French-Canadian families in their children. Both minorities might share some topics in common. There is the eternal problem of destiny, always urgent, never resolved; the national desire to have one's country loved and known abroad; the humor mixed with *des cas de conscience* for the Catholic Canadian, and attached to moral and philosophical issues for the *Suisse romand*. Such poetry is often heroic, or sings the nostalgic desire for the far-away homeland. This note is particularly evident in Gérin Lajoie's *Un Canadien errant*:

Si tu vois mon pays  
Va, dis à mes amis  
Que je me souviens d'eux.

and in the early poets Crémazie and Fréchette.

In judging Sylvestre's anthology, we find ourselves at a disadvantage. It is hardly fair to offer an opinion on a poet judged by one single piece of work, arbitrarily chosen, or by two mediocre lines. For the most part M. Sylvestre chooses poets already mentioned in Fournier's anthology, and leaves out the more modern efforts of poets who have opened new paths through the literary jungle.

M. Sylvestre stresses the fact that he is giving us an anthology of Canadian poetry and not of Canadian poets. What does this mean? The outbursts of people like Fréchette, romanticizing about the colorful harmonies of America, the fierce beauty of the moving Saint Lawrence or of the Mississippi? Pompous, heavy verses dominated by the ring of Hugo's wordy declamations? Other verses such as Chapman's are marked by devotion to custom, by Canadian colloquialisms—a ridiculous attempt to show that the *Canadien* is well-educated, versed in the French classics, and not simply a lumberman expounding with pale expressions the desire to preserve his inheritance. A fervent patriotism animates his themes, unfortunately lacking flexibility and scope. Is it Crémazie's staunch nationalism, always singing Canada's history, the epic heroism of Montcalm, as in *Le chant du vieux soldat*, or depicting the deceptive attitude of France, the heartbreaks brought about by the great national events of history? The metaphors are somewhat too sonorous, the epithets too pedantic, the form too conventional; they descend in direct lineage from the worst eighteenth century French patriotism. The poignancy of *Le drapeau de Carillon* is somewhat marred by a desire for dramatic effect. There is a dual theme in Crémazie: first, a long faithfulness for *la mère patrie* (France), pathetic, sentimental, unquenched, clinging hopelessly to the motherland despite the injustice of a king or a Voltaire, as expressed in these lines:

Pour vous Français, j'ai combattu longtemps:  
Je viens encor dans ma triste vieillesse  
Attendre ici vos guerriers.

Quebec's motto, *je me souviens*, has been stewed in all kinds of poetic pots. The second theme is a love of Canada for its own sake. For him Canada is a land more beautiful than any other, because it is the land of liberty with a strong religious anchor. He shows in each case a contempt, a pride out of all proper proportions.

It is true that M. Sylvestre tries to give us an *aperçu* of French-Canadian poetry, with a large share (and I venture to say too large a share) devoted to the conventional poetry of a period urging national feelings, singing the beauty of *la grande foret silencieuse* or *les silences blancs* with pathetic, lachrymose Lamartinian endeavor. Although the setting is placed in Canada, those early attempts covering at least a

good third of the anthology, can hardly be called French-Canadian in expression. They may be often concise and simple, but they sound too much like *des vers de circonstance*. The effort is too conscious of patriotic, religious fervor, expressed in traditional themes and encrusted with antiquated forms, as Le May's *Ultima Verba* shows.

Ai-je accompli le bien que toute vie impose?  
Je ne sais. Mais l'espoir en mon âme repose,  
Car je sais les bontés du Dieu que j'ai servi.

With Gill's *Le Cap Eternité*, of which the anthology quotes only a short fragment, we have a slight integration of thought with feeling in literature, with retrospective meditations garbed in unembellished narrative. Gill, together with a few of the Québec school, tries to get away from the well-worn paths of Nature into the awe derived from the immeasurable abysses of the universe:

Il a vu tout changer, tout naître, tout mourir.

Going through the anthology we notice inspiration derived from French decadent 18th century classics imbued with the cult of the past and vibrating with rhetorical praise of Canada. This trend is followed by a more mystical, romantic cult, expressed in Lozeau. Then with Desroches we touch a morbid, nostalgic side of regionalism. He represents the tormented soul, yearning for vast adventures, though his descriptions of everyday life are robust.

Je suis un fils déchu de race surhumaine,  
Race de violents, de forts, de hasardeux  
Et j'ai le mal du pays neuf, que je tiens d'eux  
Quand viennent les jours froids que septembre ramène.

It is rather refreshing to find more realistic subjects but, the language leaves much to be desired. It is clumsy and unnecessarily strange as in:

Il éternue un grognement parmi la bâle  
Quand un cable brûlant se serre sur sa peau.

Some poets have imitated the marmoreal forms of the Parnassians, giving a hybrid formalism. Others have enriched themselves at the expense of Rimbaud or Verlaine, as Dion in *Le bateau captif*, where delicate symbols evoke a spleen and a pessimism caused by all the irrevocable ties of life. Dion shows a kindred spirit to Walt Whitman, and is more akin to the poets of the period than most of his contemporaries, without being too much of a plagiarist.

Et nous sommes pareils au bateau languissant  
Qui rêve d'archipèles, d'inconnu, d'aventure  
Mais dont frissonne seule aux brises, la voilure.

Thanks to French symbolism and to its use of music and veiled symbols, poetry became a better vehicle for French-Canadian expression. The French-Canadian, like all primitive peoples, is essentially susceptible to music, and his poetry with Nelligan enters upon a more plaintive phase, where vibrating harmonies sing love's eternal theme; melancholy (because the French-Canadian is a sentimentalist at heart); death, since the country is full of terrible dangers; macabre complaints caused by dark, sinister Nature.

The poetry characterizing the twentieth century is more varied in impulses. It is either a soft lullaby, as sung by Gouin — *Il était une fois, fais dodo mon petit gars*; or a monotonous incantation, white, pure, as the murmur in a Church, but sung *dans la foret de l'ile solitaire*; or a *poème en prose* — a pale attempt by Marcel Degas to imitate the perfection of Baudelaire. This poetry either attaches itself to humble objects, as in Saint Denis Garneau's *Assis sur*

*une chaise*; or it becomes a game of blocks as in *Le Jeu*, because poetry is often nothing more than a game.

French-Canadian poetry is marked by a proportionately large number of women poets writing in the modern period. I had expected to find French-Canadian women attached to the home, the garden, or ecstatically living in a convent. Their poetry deals with the old regionalistic themes, but brings in a deep feminine intuition which goes beyond external expression. We regret again the meagre representation of their work. It has been more varied than M. Sylvestre's choice would indicate. Omitted are the poems of Simone Routier, relating her escape from the French débâcle, and Cecile Chabot's work, stressing the pleasures of human love. The latter adequately mixed the physical and the pantheistic approach, the soul and the flesh, giving greater stress to the latter and therefore flinging herself outside the realm of the Church's prescription.

Je ne suis qu'une enfant solitaire et sauvage  
Qui m'en vais dans la vie avec un cœur d'oiseau.

The volume ends with a philosophical trend, attempted in the works of Langlois and Hénault—an interesting but inadequate imitation of the concentration of Paul Valéry's cosmogony. They want to express *la pure lumière* derived from eternity — *je deviens clair* — and the consciousness derived from the universe with its mobility, incoherence, ecstasy of creative, living action. What ambition in those poets, conscious of knowledge and of spiritual strength, translating the harmony of the divine spheres into the evanescent adventures of life!

We regret deeply certain serious omissions of works by the authors mentioned, and the unwillingness of Paul Morin to have any samples of his work included in this volume. These would have fitted into the poetic pattern and expressed, more thoroughly and spontaneously than many of those chosen, both the inner sensations of the spirit and the nature of external circumstance.

To conclude, one may say that French-Canadian poets have too willingly borrowed from the motherland, without showing great critical discrimination. One may naturally borrow from France—it is almost inevitable; but let it be with discretion. This tendency predominates before 1900 especially. With the beginning of the new period, French-Canadian poetry, although nationalistic in tone, turns towards a more personal expression. This lyricism is partly, but yet not sufficiently tempered by intelligence and reflection. It seems to me that Canadian poetry in the French language should reflect the times in which it is created. It ought to be a living monument to an age full of curiosity, despondency, fever, mysticism, desire for escape perhaps, an age with a darkened vision of things. It should express what one may call *l'esprit de crise, d'inquiétude suivi de sérénité*, where the poet outruns the world of appearances and soars to a view of the immutable essence which appearances hide. This poetry might be a fresco of French-Canadian life, as well as an expression of universal feeling, a statement of today's problems and preoccupations. The poet must not be regarded as a privileged man, allowed only to give vent to lofty patriotic or nationalistic sentiments. The modern poet sees the deeply human aspect of things; he mixes directly in life; gives us a rich expression in all fields. He ought to be allowed to experiment with new techniques not bearing the trade mark of Ronsard, Lamartine, or Hugo.

French-Canadian poetry could be original, reflecting the personality of its poets, not limited by colorless, imitative style. The poets might draw their themes from the history and customs of the land, enriching their work with pic-

turesque localism and colorful regionalism. Whether it be realistic or romantic in approach, it should be conscious of problems of universal interest, and at the same time less contemptuous of its own heritage from the Canadian past. Thus powers of observation would ripen, and poets would emancipate themselves from regional quarrels. The Norman humor, so often objectionable, might become less sardonic, more whimsical. This is not a time to revel in narrow national pride, to restrict one's view to the social problems and conflicts of one's own country alone. When the French-Canadian muse can make history and scenic grandeur serve as stepping stones to a wider objective, we shall have a greater poetry—a poetry of truly deep significance and validity.

### Always the Melting Moon

The silent tepees stand like shocked corn  
in dark triangles against the moonlight;  
charcoal shadows shift, leaning awry.  
The moon climbs down the western slope,  
an owl in hushed flight slips by  
and softly calls.

The old one stirs.  
Winter falls. Bleached grass will be  
buried in snow, tepees banked.  
Green banners will flash in the north,  
the air will sparkle with ice fragments.  
Wind shouting down from the north  
will pack the light snow, pack it hard,  
carve it in lines and ridges,  
sculpture it in great curves.  
The old one does not fear.

There is food:  
pemmican packed with chokecherries,  
saskatoons pounded and dried,  
deer meat and buffalo stored in deerskin.  
There is fuel for the fire,  
robes to be wrapped in.  
Why should the old one fear?

Many times have the wild geese flown southward.  
Many times have leaves fallen.  
Many times has the frosty moon  
breathed her cold breath on the world,  
stilling water, changing the world to white.  
But always the melting moon comes,  
cracking ice,  
rippling streams, bringing rain.  
The white blanket of snow is withdrawn.

Grass comes with green blades,  
and the crocus.  
Rabbits' coats patchy and brown,  
Crows shout and jeer  
and the meadowlark calls.  
The robes are shaken out;  
chinook blows gently from the west.  
The old one tells of it:  
"Always the melting moon comes."

Margot Osborn.

# France Fights Underground

*Josephine Hambleton*

► TO THOSE OF US for whom the war remains a remote affair, robbing our relatives of their lives, the reading of French underground newspapers smuggled into England brings renewed determination.

France is a slave state. In the most complete effort in human history to obliterate a whole nation, 6,000 men are deported daily to work in German labor camps. Even such a traditionally conservative group as the War Veterans' Legion has been replaced by an organization functioning as the trusted arm of the Gestapo in hounding Frenchmen into enemy jails and work camps. Such is the futile, nerveless effort at statecraft of senile generals, and of greedy industrialists who throughout the thirties feared so desperately the efforts of the Popular Front of workers and intellectuals to avert war and give humanity new hope for a generous social order that they allied themselves with Hitler.

France is without political or economic organs of resistance to her despoliation. Underground newspapers take their place and hostages become her soldiers.

In the days of the French collapse, General Charles de Gaulle's appeal was above all a national one. Today, the senility of her regime having become apparent to all, his appeal has become a revolutionary one. The slogan of the de Gaulle banner is that of Thomas Jefferson and of Napoleon: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." The French Committee of National Liberation is agreed that the collapse of Germany must herald the birth of a Fourth Republic, strongly allied with the democratic powers in a reconstituted League of Nations, and maintaining security at home by continuation of the Popular Front social program, which was interrupted by war.

Fernand Grenier, communist deputy for Saint Denis, Paris, recently escaped from France to join the French Committee of National Liberation. Albert Guigui, Secretary of the French Confederation of Labor, prototype in pre-war days of the British Trades Union Congress, is also a member of the Committee. The Allies have acknowledged the validity of the social aims of General de Gaulle by recognizing in him the political head of the French Committee of National Liberation, while recognizing General Giraud as head of the French Armies.

*Resistance*, a de Gaulle newspaper, is active in recruiting men for France's secret army. The men are given privates' pay and serve under demobilized French officers who have joined the underground movement. They are assured of pensions in case of disability, and pensions for their families in the event of their demise. But they are given no assurance that their families can be notified of their capture by the enemy, since they are not entitled to treatment as prisoners of war. Families known to have relatives in the underground armies are deprived of their ration books, which cover every article of food from turnips and beets to butter or oats. Nevertheless, many have joined and undertaken active service, as is witnessed by frequent acts of sabotage.

Some indication of the treatment which will be accorded collaborationists and informers in a Free France is revealed in the column, "War Communiqué," by such items as this: "At Vitry, a cafe owner who had prided himself on the assistance which he had given the Gestapo in tracking down our men was sentenced by our guerillas to be executed. As

he died, 'Thus traitors conclude their destiny' was pinned on his breast." The list of such incidents is a long one.

*Combat*, official de Gaulle newspaper of resistance, describes the strike at Montlucon in January 1943, when women and children lay on the railway tracks in front of a train loaded with 300 conscripts for war service in German-controlled factories. The conscripts fled, and the Germans used machine guns on the strikers.

Other strikers have not been so successful. Most moving of all testaments from France is the handwritten *Le Patriote*, a newspaper issued in prisons whose walls are blackened with hostages' blood. "Our cause is a just one," reads an editorial, "and we remain calm before the medieval tortures used to break French resistance by forcing us to reveal the names of comrades who are yet fighting. They starve us and keep news of our loved ones from us, but we laugh in their faces. Their tortures are of no avail. The spirit of a French patriot is unassailable." A poem by a lad of 17, written a few hours before his execution, declares: "We are all communists, and because we proclaimed it aloud, they chain our hands behind our backs to lead us to our execution ground. You who are free, brothers in arms, avenge us. Our dying nays, already embraces us. To you we entrust our faith."

The roll of hostages shot for their faith in France is not a roll of martyrs. Prison bulletins reveal a spirit too stern for martyrdom. These people are one with the men and women of Britain who resisted the blitz, and the men and women of Russia who hurled back the Nazis from Stalingrad and Leningrad and those who fight for their deliverance in the Ukraine, in Yugoslavia and in Greece. That so little has been heard of them is not their fault. Germany has used every means of silencing France, her greatest and most potential enemy by reason of her former world prestige and wealth.

Marcel Cachin, Maurice Thorez, French communist leaders well known to Canadians, are in France. The communist party newspaper, *L'Humanité*, states editorially that not a single foot of French national soil but must thunder with the gunfire of national liberation.

*Le Populaire*, newspaper of Leon Blum, the former French premier now captive in a Polish prison camp out of reach of any French underground cells which might steal him from under the noses of the Nazis, as they have many other well-known French leaders, still proudly asserts the principles of the French Committee for Socialist Action. More reasonable than its counterparts, its pages are full of post-war plans and discussions about the legal position of the Vichy Government. Its admirable detachment is reflected in its editorial plea to the United States not to perpetuate Vichyism in North Africa or to allow the Allied victory to bring an Amgot administration of France by United States Army officers trained in special administrative schools. Even its type is moderate, but its voice is not less determined or less indignant for all the apparent propriety. *Le Père Duchesne*, named after a famous precursor of 1793, does not hesitate to repeat, however, that "a German had accused a Jew of eating a German brain at 9.30 p.m. The accusation is farcical being based on three impossibilities: (1) The Jews do not eat swine; (2) At 9.30 p.m. every one is listening to the B.B.C.; (3) Germans have no brains."

*Le Franc Tireur* (i.e., The Guerrilla) of April 1st, 1943, describes life in German prisoner-of-war camps: "The prisoner's life is not lonely. It is crowded to bursting point with petty duties. The end of the day is a welcome homecoming for these men isolated from their homes and families, whose faces are graves of former hopes and aspirations. Yet, despite

the complete collapse of their national, social and family structures, their quality of resistance to spiritual chaos is nothing short of miraculous. Its roots are deeper than the liberalism of the French Revolution, and stretch back to the taciturn endurance of the peasant of the Middle Ages and the moral attitudes taken then, which determined our later cultural flowering of art and sensitivity to one another's freedoms."

By the exercise of imagination, French soldiers avoid the pitfalls of communal living, to which the Germans, with their excessive introspection, so often fall victim, if newspaper accounts of the officer captured in Tunisia with seventeen bottles of perfume in his possession are credible. "A bit of string, a good memory and a few scraps of imaginatively cut bread, and you have a play by Racine or Corneille before your eyes," says the *Franc Tireur*.

France has no contemporary orator. She turns to the great voices of the past. Students of the Quartier Latin, as every generation of French national history has done, make swords of their pens, and the voice of Victor Hugo is no longer memory work learned in school years. It is the voice of an indignant France, whose shiftless traitors, fearful of the educated minds of the people, sway with the indecision of Louis XVI in the rising breeze of revolution.

### Gaelic Curse

This—that is one  
Of Life's dreadful things  
Hangs in the air  
With folded wings;  
  
Creeps along  
Over wood and hill,  
While stout hearts quiver  
And lips grow chill;  
  
While the South Wind blows  
With a keening sound  
And the moist snake slithers  
Along the ground;  
  
While the clustered boughs  
In the meadow sigh,  
And the milch cow droops  
With her udder dry;  
  
Where the grasses shudder  
And shake and twist  
And the moon peers forth  
From a pallid mist—  
  
And the shape that waits  
For all living men,  
Lays its hand  
On their hearts again.

Clare McDermott.

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## Books of the Month

BEHIND THE STEEL WALL: Arvid Fredborg; Macmillan (Viking Press); pp. 305; \$4.00.

A person who spent two years ending last summer in Germany ought to have a great deal to tell. Mr. Arvid Fredborg has a great deal to tell, a great deal of what we knew before he told it. The greater part of his book is taken up with accounts of military and political developments of which we here in America learned more while they were going on than he learned in Berlin. He did not even catch up before he wrote his book.

Of details with which we are not so familiar, there is plenty of the usual gossip with which we are familiar in tendency. We have been made familiar with this tendency of gossiping by numerous American correspondents who once were in Mr. Fredborg's position, though somewhat before his time, and who like him burst forth with weighty volumes full of nothing and corresponding publishers' propaganda. The only thing that distinguishes Mr. Fredborg from them is that he is not an American; he is a Swede.

But there are a few isolated gems in his book. And as the news coverage of Germany is deplorable no one should be discouraged from reading Mr. Fredborg's book. As those gems are isolated and unconnected we will speak here of something else. We will speak of the attitude of mind that Mr. Fredborg reveals, an attitude that is dangerous because his book is widely read not for the gems but obviously because his attitude appeals to many people here. We will not talk too much of his almost ridiculously hysterical fear of Soviet Russia; he is a Swedish bourgeois. We will chiefly look into his ideas on post-war Germany.

He is emphatic that "there are three institutions of direct political importance which may be counted upon to survive the deluge: the churches, mainly the Roman Catholic; high finance, especially the Rhenish-Westphalian magnates; and the military."

The churches admittedly will fit into the kind of democracy which to establish is the war aim of the United Nations. What Mr. Fredborg says of the other two institutions is apt to put fear into democratic readers who are not discerning enough to see that he offers no substantiation whatever for his statement. Before and after making the statement he relapses into speaking of "the Germans." Although he says many times that there are few convinced Nazis left in Germany he manages to write that "the German national character undoubtedly has certain destructive features which have been brought to a head by Nazism." He immediately goes on: "It also has constructive features which have, justifiably, placed the German people high among the civilized nations of the world." The word "justifiably" in this sentence is completely senseless, but we will not dwell on it; this might create the impression that the senselessness of this word demands to be singled out for special comment when there is in fact hardly a sentence in the whole book that is logical. A certain amount of this, by the way, is evidently due to the translation.

His appraisal of the "German character," then, is the usual liberal-idealistic stuff that explains nothing. It is as irrelevant in respect of finding out why this war has come about as it is in respect of the future. To escape the necessity of saying anything that is relevant Mr. Fredborg assures us that there are "hundreds" of anti-Nazi factions in Germany. And who could expect him, or anyone else, to tell us what these hundreds of factions want? But it ought to be possible to mention at least one or another faction that has more influence than the rest, apart from the dream factions of

reactionaries that Mr. Fredborg mentions (with the exception of the churches).

As for the Rhenish-Westphalian magnates, after Fritz Thyssen was caught by the Nazis in France, American correspondents then still in Germany reported that Hitler had visited Thyssen; others said that Thyssen had been killed. And Mr. Fredborg says: "The form of reasoning put forward by Fritz Thyssen in his book is not unusual in the world of German business. Like Thyssen, most of the German financiers have chalked up their score against Nazism. But they remain prudently in their places without, for the moment, taking any political initiative." Of course, they are waiting for something like AMG or, better still, something like the Social Democrats in November, 1918. As for Mr. Fredborg's handling of the Thyssen question, I cannot think of any journalistic job that was more capably bungled.

As for the German military, Mr. Fredborg is ignorant or bold enough to write that "the Russians have let it be understood that they are prepared to accept the existence of the German war machine." This chapter gives him plenty of scope to let his anti-Soviet animus run wild and to indulge in the most fantastic speculations about a Russo-German separate peace.

In the military field, one of Mr. Fredborg's gems ought to be widely publicized for the benefit of United Nations, especially British, people. A few weeks before Montgomery counterattacked at El Alamein, Rommel, in the presence of Goebbels, gave an interview to the foreign press in Berlin. The Marshal said, "we have them beaten," and the Germans would certainly conquer Egypt. Then he proceeded to tell the foreign correspondents that "the British were cowardly and fought dishonorably."

In concluding, Mr. Fredborg's carelessness of detail should be mentioned. The most glaring of them concerns Hitler's birthplace; the man was not born in Linz.

To sum up, the literature on the subject is so disastrous that Mr. Fredborg's book might well be read by many people. Through its confusion it stands out among all books that have come out of Germany. This confusion makes the book dangerous. But unfortunately there are men nearer home who are much more dangerous.

Martin Dell.

**THE TRIAL OF MUSSOLINI:** "Cassius"; Gollancz; pp. 82; \$1.00.

This little book comes opportunely on the heels of Lord Halifax. Memories are so short that the past history and principles of Lord Halifax and his cohorts are buried under the pressure of present events. We should do well to exhume them, and "Cassius," whoever he may be, has created with fine and biting irony an imaginary war-guilt trial of Mussolini, which turns out to be also a trial of those misguided men, lacking even far-sighted self-interest, who gave Mussolini aid and comfort until 1940. This book gives a clear undramatic statement of what Canada would be tied to if her foreign policy were that of London, for it is idle to pretend that London could be won over even to Ottawa's interests, let alone Ottawa's idealism.

Through the various witnesses there is revealed the rise of Fascism in which Mussolini was so eminently aided by king, church, army and official classes who preferred fascism (then as now) to social reform. There is a brief factual account of the defiance by Mussolini of all international obligations towards Abyssinia, Spain, Albania, Greece, and eventually France, Britain and Russia.

The powerful indictments are supported by evidence taken from newspaper reports. The "Attorney-General's" first long

speech, outlining the case against Mussolini is a triumph of compression in its recapitulation of Italian affairs from 1922 to 1940. Then the "Counsel for the Defence" in setting up the legal defence "that questions of political morality are questions of political opinion; that political opinions change with political interests," produces even blacker items, calling important personages as witnesses. Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Rothermere, G. Ward Price (special correspondent for Rothermere's *Daily Mail*), Emil Ludwig and Neville Chamberlain all condemn themselves out of their own mouths, in one of the most mordant passages of satirical writing. These witnesses "were not content to applaud the achievements of the Prisoner. They actually assisted him in his task."

International standards of morality which Mussolini is said to have defied are not well defined, says the Defence,

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and calls more witnesses such as Lord Simon, Sir Samuel Hoare, Neville Chamberlain again, Lord Halifax, L. S. Amery, Hore-Belisha and Lord Lloyd, to repute themselves in passages which show their views on international obligations. This "imposing set of witnesses" reveals that the British ruling party consisted of a set of either pitifully duped men or thoroughly immoral scoundrels. "Almost all of them were members of a government solemnly pledged to uphold the territorial integrity of Abyssinia, Spain and Albania. They may claim that there were good reasons of expediency for breaking these sacred vows. But if that be their excuse let them not seek to condemn others for the breach of treaties and obligations."

The Defence's case rests on this: if these high personages are to be condemned, then Mussolini's guilt has a recognizable character; if they are guiltless, so is he.

Mussolini is called, and delivers himself of an oration on power politics, with international dealings subject only to the law of the jungle, the law of force, as much for England of yesterday as for Italy today.

Finally are heard three moving demands for the death of Mussolini from an Abyssinian, in the name of the dark peoples of Africa, from a Spaniard in the name of the peoples of Spain who resisted so long, and from an Italian, in the name of those Italians who first fought fascism at home. All ask for a people's peace and a people's future.

This is a clever book in its plan, its selection of events and persons and its presentation within the framework of a trial. Its implications are much greater than its statements and its fairness and quiet tone make the damning facts which emerge so innocently doubly damning, not only to Mussolini but also to the other Guilty Men.

It makes very clear a point which cannot be over-emphasized: "The crime of the Right was that they preferred Fascism to reform. The blunder of the Left was that they did not drive home their advantage when they had it. They did not fight with sufficient strength to secure their gains."

*Dorothy Fraser.*

**THEY SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH:** Otto Zoff; Longmans, Green and Co. (John Day); pp. 258; \$4.00.

To read this book through from cover to cover is an ordeal. You don't sleep very well the first night afterwards. It is the story of the things this war of ours is doing and has done to the children of Asia, Europe and America. Yet to shirk reading it brands one as a somewhat despicable ivory tower dweller. For as the author says: "There are two enemies. Fascism is an evil we can see and fight against; it is outside ourselves. These children are victims not only of fascism but of indifference. Indifference is harder to combat, for it is within us all."

Apart from the incredible physical and mental suffering of these children, the most horrible fact of all is that throughout Europe the children have learned to hate and to kill. What will that do to the future of the world?

It is not an hysterical book by any means and the author has obviously taken great trouble to collect his facts and to sift his evidence. He cites many instances of unbelievable courage, toughness and resilience which make one hope that all may not be lost. One of the brighter spots is Britain where a tremendous amount has been achieved for children's welfare since the war began. In Russia it is axiomatic that children's needs come next after the soldiers' and it is a very common thing for Russians who are clamoring to adopt these war orphans to ask for the most miserable and the sickest child available—for that is the child whose need is greatest.

Those who heard Dr. Howard Kershner speak in Toronto on behalf of the Save the Children Fund some months ago know that much could be done right now to relieve the starvation of Europe's children without helping the enemy. The chapter on children in America serves to remind us that there is a good deal going on in our own backyard in the way of public neglect and private exploitation which it is our job to clean up.

Dorothy Canfield's introduction is very fine.

*Gwenyth Grube.*

**O DOMINIO DO CANADA:** Helio Lobo; Editora Civilisacao Brasileira (Rio de Janeiro, 1942).

The first comprehensive study of Canada in Portuguese for the Brazilian public has been written, happily for Canada, by a Brazilian who as delegate to the International Labour Office in Montreal achieved both a knowledge and understanding of Canada. Under these circumstances, it would be less than gracious to criticize minor factual errors or to challenge analyses and assumptions. Actually, the volume appears to be almost entirely free from misstatements of fact; the only point worthy of mention in this connection is the title itself and the error is one that is excusable in view of the mistaken impression among so many Canadians themselves. Some day our own people may learn that Canada is Canada and not the Dominion of Canada, a phrase having no basis in law and possessing a connotation of inferior status.

The volume is no colorful pageant of history or culture but is a sober and careful, albeit very general statement of facts about Canada today with brief reference to its past. It reads in large part like a combination of a high school geography and the Canada Year Book, diluted with a little elementary political and cultural history and is not unlike some of the excellent and simple handbooks on Brazil which have been published by the Brazilian government. As such, it is admirably designed to suit its purpose, namely to explain Canada to Brazilians and the author may be complimented on the sources upon which he has relied and on his choice of material for inclusion. His sallies into the field of interpretation of political, cultural and spiritual movements in Canada are, furthermore, less dangerous than those of more original writers, for he has relied in forming his judgments upon the judgments of Canadians who know their country well. Perhaps the weakest section in the volume is that on political parties and even this flaw may largely be attributed to the rapid development in party structure within Canada in the last two years.

*J. R. B.*

**MEN AND COAL:** McAlister Coleman; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 350; \$3.75.

Cover blurbs on this Farrar and Rinehart publication describe it as a pro-John L. Lewis book. This emphasis on the Lewis theme is carried over in the apologetic foreword by John Chamberlain of the *New York Times*.

This emphasis on Lewis may have a sales value, but it is misleading. The book is not about Lewis. It is about the United Mine Workers of America. Lewis enters the picture as the present-day president of that historic American labor organization.

Coleman is a 66-year-old newsman who has been intimately associated with his subject. He served as a labor reporter

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for the daily press in the coal fields and as a union publicity man. He writes with an easy familiarity about the industry, its development, its economics and its future. But he writes with affection about the miners and their union history which goes back to the American Civil War.

Individual personalities have their place in the book. The names of noted American labor leaders move steadily across the pages. But they are highlighted in their proper perspective as individual highlights upon the surface of a great, moving mass. Coleman tries hard to be impartial in dealing with such personalities. He succeeds as long as the conflict between such individuals takes place within the miners' ranks. But interesting touches of healthy prejudice become apparent when he deals with labor leaders who leave the miners for other spheres of activity.

When you have finished reading this book you will have a new idea about that 20th century phenomenon—the industrial union. You will understand how coal miners whose sons are dying overseas can go out in a wartime strike with imperturbable unanimity. You will discover that the frightening power of John L. Lewis is not within himself but in the fact that he so perfectly epitomizes his coal miner membership with their isolation from public opinion, their blunt honesty and their proud independence from government.

You will learn that the amazing United Mine Workers of America has not only produced John L. Lewis, but also the present-day leaders of both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. You will realize that it has sired and nurtured unionism in many other branches of American industry. You will be left with the peculiar feeling that, despite the virulent attacks being made against Lewis and his miners by the rest of American unionism at the present moment, the old bear and his tough membership are still showing the others the road which they must also take in the not too far distant future.

The book is part of a series about labor in various American industries. *The Needle Trades*, by Joel Seidman, has already been published. *Men and Coal* is second in the series. Other books on textile, printing trades, lumbering, steel, automobile, etc. are in preparation. Series editors are Dr. Henry David of Queen's College, Prof. H. J. Carman of Columbia, and Mr. Herbert J. Lahne.

Murray Cotterill.

#### DIRECTION—VOL. I—

This, like its predecessors *Preview* and *First Statement*, is a new literary magazine, beginning very unpretentiously with stapled mimeographed sheets (unfortunately often physically unreadable, and besouled with some amazingly crude cartoons), and produced on an R.C.A.F. station by a group of young soldiers. The chief figure in the group seems to be the young poet, Raymond Souster. The contributions are mainly poems, and the leading themes are the sexual loneliness of army life and the ironic contrast between the certain fact of war and the vague hope of a better world after it. The writers are too readily content with a pinchbeck free verse which is really a series of flat prose statements, and are inclined to overestimate the poetic value of nostalgia. On the other hand, they are not afraid to make obvious protests against obvious evils, to look forward to a post-war period, not merely of reconstruction, but of general hell-raising with the "way of life" that blundered into the war, or to affirm with great earnestness that nearly all official Canadian literature is tripe. More power to them.

N. F.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Editor:

Your critic, Mr. Frye, finds it difficult "to say much about an analogy unless there is some statement in it about why it was made, for whom it was made, and what literary principles were involved in making it." It may be of service to disabuse the notion that the presentation of poetry necessitates an apologia, a platform, and an atlas. It doesn't.

It is gratifying to know that New Directions Press approached Canada for material for its Poets of the Year. It seems necessary, however, domestically to announce that Canadian poetry is not so prevalent in the States that a collection of it is redundant.

RALPH GUSTAFSON, New York City, U.S.A.



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